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THE REAL ISSUE IN MISSISSIPPI

THE EDITORS

FACTS ABOUT FOOD IN CHINA

EDGAR SNOW

Mexico

ANDREW GUNDER FRANK

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CONTENTS | VOLUME FOURTEEN NUMBER SEVEN NOVEMBER 1962

REVIEW OF THE MONTH: The Real Issue in Mississippi 337
FACTS ABOUT FOOD IN CHINA by Edgar Snow 346
WHY I WILL NOT REGISTER by Dorothy Healey 362
MEXICO: THE JANUS FACES OF TWENTIETH-CENTURY BOURGEOIS REVOLUTION by Andrew Gunder Frank 370
WORLD EVENTS by Scott Nearing 389
BOOKS: A TRUE INTERNATIONALIST by Jeffry Kaplow 395

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NOTES FROM THE EDITORS

You will have seen the stories in the press announcing that postage rates are going up again in January. The cost of paper, printing, and supplies has also gone up. It is therefore with regret that we are forced to raise MR's subscription rates beginning on January 1, 1963. As of that date the domestic rate will go up from $5 to $6 a year, while the foreign rate will be increased from $5 to $7. This introduction of a differential between domestic and foreign rates is long overdue and results from additional costs and postage connected with servicing foreign subscriptions. The whole schedule of new rates will be as follows: one-year sub $6, foreign $7; two-year sub $10, foreign $12; three-year sub $14, foreign $17. N.B., however, that no matter when your present sub expires you can renew at the old rates for as many years as you like, provided only that you *act before January 1*. And remember that joining the Associates automatically renews your sub.

We hope you have, or will very soon acquire, the habit of thinking of MR and MR Press books as ideal Christmas presents—ideal because you kill *three* birds with one stone—your friend, yourself, and MR. We are cooperating by reducing the prices of most of our books (see the double spread on pp. 368-369 below) and by offering special gift subscription rates which are all the better bargains in view of the increase in regular rates on January 1. The gift rates are as follows: one sub, $4; two subs, $7.25; three subs, $10; four subs, $12.50; five or more subs at the rate of $3 apiece.

(*continued on inside back cover*)

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THE REAL ISSUE IN MISSISSIPPI

The volume of printed and spoken words the U.S. mass-communication media can pour out on and around an event like the admission of a Negro to the University of Mississippi is staggering to the imagination. So also is the capacity of this fantastically productive word-machine to say next to nothing and to avoid real issues. The situation is somewhat analagous to that of the U.S. economic system as a whole: technological progress makes possible an amazingly efficient productive apparatus, but its output is increasingly a compound of unemployment and misery on the one hand and junk on the other.

The basic issue in Mississippi—and in many other states and localities around the country—has not, to the best of our knowledge, even been mentioned in the avalanche of words released by the Meredith case. It is simply this: Can the U.S. socio-economic system of monopoly capitalism win the loyal adherence of its Negro minority? Or will Negroes be decisively alienated by and from this system, turning into a permanently hostile and potentially revolutionary force?

During most of the country's history, these questions didn't arise at all. Kept in a state of servitude even after the legal abolition of slavery, deprived of education, and having no rights that either the state or its white citizens were bound to respect, Negroes constituted a helot class at the very base of the social pyramid. How they felt about the system made no difference: their weakness, ignorance, and isolation were such as to render them incapable of anything but sporadic acts of protest which could be and were dealt with locally, either by the police power or by extra-legal vigilante organizations like the Ku Klux Klan. Negroes did the dirty work, and beyond that they quite literally didn't count.

What changed all this was the two great and closely interrelated revolutions of the 20th century: the socialist revolution

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and the anti-colonial revolution. These revolutions, initiated by the exploited classes and oppressed nationalities of Tsarist Russia, have spread throughout large parts of Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America, gaining momentum along the way and giving new ideas and new hope to the downtrodden everywhere. This world-shaking historical process has transformed the situation of U.S. Negroes in two fundamental respects. First, they are no longer isolated and alone in the world; they have friends who are not only sympathetic but also powerful; they have seen others of dark skin liberate themselves and set out resolutely on the road of economic development and cultural regeneration. American Negroes have accordingly acquired an entirely new consciousness, a new sense of pride and dignity, new ambitions and a will to struggle for their realization. Second, the United States as leader of world capitalism has launched a world-wide Cold War to contain and if possible destroy the rising socialist system, and in this enterprise it needs all the allies it can get, especially among the underdeveloped and newly liberated countries. Since these countries are for the most part inhabited by peoples of color, the condition and treatment of the U.S. colored minority have become issues of cardinal international significance.

As a result of these two developments, not only are U.S. Negroes grimly determined to put an end to their humiliating status as second-class citizens but the more intelligent and far-seeing elements in the white ruling class know that permitting—and indeed up to a point helping along—this change is a part of the price they must pay if they are to have any hope of winning the larger struggle against socialism.

Against this background, it might seem that what we are witnessing today—including the drama of James Meredith and the University of Mississippi—is nothing but the final convulsions of an outworn system of racial segregation which is bound to give way before the onslaughts of the Negroes themselves from below and national ruling-class pressure from above. This is a common view, especially among Northern liberals and European Social Democrats. For them, every breach in the Southern system of segregation is not only a gain for Negro liberation but also a victory for their side (naturally the capitalist side) of the

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Cold War. The road may yet be long and difficult, they concede, but there can be no doubt about the final destination—the integration of Negroes into U.S. society and the removal, or at any rate the decisive downgrading, of the racial issue as a factor in determining the outcome of the Cold War.

It would be hard to imagine a more superficial reading of the situation. True, there was a time when U.S. Negroes might have been satisfied with the abolition of the formal apparatus of segregation. It imposed special miseries and humiliations on them beyond those borne by other segments of the population, but further than that they couldn't see. They knew no other system than the one they lived under, and the very notion of real equality, as distinct from mere formal equality before the law, has no place in the capitalist scheme of things. But this is not the situation today—far from it. Today, the meaning of equality has been radically changed, not by dictionary redefinitions but by the great liberating revolutions that are sweeping the world. It still means that blacks and whites should have the *same* rights. But it means much more too: it means that among the rights which everyone should enjoy regardless of color is the right to a decent share of the good things of life. *Quantum mutatus ab illo!*

Judged by this new standard, the Negro who escapes from the hated interdicts and insults of legal segregation—for example by moving North, as hundreds of thousands have been doing in recent years—finds himself in a situation which is hardly more compatible with the dignity and sensibilities of a self-respecting human being. He is forced to live in a racial ghetto, which imposes a far-reaching *de facto* segregation on almost every aspect of his life; he has the dirtiest, worst-paying jobs; he is the last to be hired and the first to be fired; on the average his income is no more than half that of his white fellow citizens; his children receive a miserably inadequate education and more than likely join the ranks of the unemployed when they leave school; above all, he is abysmally poor in a society where everything, including the poor imitation of happiness it has to offer, costs money, money, money.

The time is long since past when Negroes might have been prepared to accept the kind of "equality" which leaves them in

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this sorry condition. Today, their mood is well and truly expressed by Babeuf's "Manifesto of the Equals," that most radical and humanitarian document of the French Revolution:

> Equality! First promise of nature! First need of man and principal bond of all legitimate association! . . . Equality has been nothing but a fine-sounding and sterile fiction of the law. Today when we demand it more loudly than ever, we are told: "Silence, wretches! Real equality is a chimera; content yourselves with conditional equality; you are all equal before the law. Swine, what more do you want?" What more do we want? . . . We claim the right henceforth to live and die as equals just as we were born as equals, and we want real equality or death.

No one imagines that equality of this kind is going to be achieved overnight. That is not the point. The question is whether "real equality," which is by now the unalterable goal of the Negro struggle, is also the goal of the U.S. ruling class—not whether real equality can be achieved overnight or even in the near future, but whether it can *ever* be achieved under monopoly capitalism. And the crucial thing to understand is that politically conscious Negroes are right now in the process of making up their minds. If they can be convinced that the responsible leaders of American capitalism—men like Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy and the members of the Supreme Court—are in the struggle with them and have the same ultimate goals as they do, and if they can see concrete evidence of progress toward reaching these goals, then their loyalty to the system will be assured even if they continue for a long time to be its special victims. But if they become convinced that the white ruling class is merely paying lip service to equality, that it intends no more than "equality before the law," that the system offers no hope of their liberation from the bonds of exploitation and discrimination, then their present attitude of questioning will harden into one of embittered hostility which in turn must sooner or later give birth to a spirit of revolt.

The die is not yet cast. There are profound divisions among Negroes, perhaps best symbolized by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on the one side and the Black Muslims on the other. The NAACP still believes in the

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possibility of gradual integration and it accepts the good faith of its white allies as represented by the executive and judicial branches of the federal government. The Black Muslims are at the opposite pole. For them, white society, by which they really mean the United States, is wholly evil and they want no part of it. They go even further: they believe that in the long run white society is doomed, and in the meantime they want to sever all contact with it—hence not only the rejection of integration but the demand for a separate territory to be inhabited solely by blacks. This is not the place to discuss the millenarian quality of Black Muslim doctrine; that can, and almost certainly will, undergo transformations as time goes on and the impact of the world revolutions deepens. The main significance of Black Muslimism at this time is that it proves the existence, and indeed the formidable strength, of what may at this stage be called the Negro rejection movement.

Needless to say, not all Negroes have lined up with the NAACP or the Black Muslims. It may even be a good guess that a majority are afflicted with ambivalent feelings, hoping for the best and fearing the worst, watching and weighing events, getting ready to draw whatever conclusions must be drawn and to act accordingly.

It is only in this context that the true significance of such dramatic incidents as James Meredith's entry into the University of Mississippi can be appreciated. The crucial point is not that the federal government took the necessary steps to enforce the court order directing the University to accept Meredith. There was really no alternative: not to have done so would have led to an unprecedented debacle. Every Negro in the country would have lost confidence in the Kennedy administration—and in the sincerity of white promises. Furthermore, there was obvious political advantage to be gained among Northern Negro voters by using the army to enforce a desegregation order of the courts, and this is a particularly important consideration in an election year.

But on a longer view these are essentially side issues. Even if Meredith's admission to the University can be made to stick—which is still very far from certain—it will be only a token integration, and token integrations stimulate Negro demands

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rather than satisfying them. The real question is whether the ruling class, acting through the federal government, means to go beyond a policy of enforcing token-integration orders of the courts to a serious attack on the whole system of segregation and discrimination. In the long run, the attitudes and loyalties of Negroes will depend on the answer to this question, from which it follows that the significance of the Meredith case lies precisely in the light it throws on ruling-class intentions. Here, surely, was the perfect opportunity to launch the attack if a will or desire to do so had existed. By not seizing this opportunity, the Kennedy brothers revealed all too clearly that their own real concerns and aims, and those of the class they represent, have nothing in common with the aspirations of Negroes struggling for liberation.

What could the Kennedys have done if they had wanted to convince Negroes that they share the common aim of "real equality"? Here are some possibilities.

First, in all their pronouncements they could have combined pleas for obedience to the law with condemnation of the injustices which have so long been done the Negroes of Mississippi and admiration for the exemplary behavior and great courage of James Meredith.

Second, the President himself could have gone to Mississippi and taken James Meredith's hand and personally led him onto the campus. The impact on Negroes would have been tremendous, and the whole country would have had not one but two "profiles in courage" to admire.

Third, the administration could have taken Governor Barnett's open defiance of the Constitution as the signal for an onslaught against the monopoly of political power exercised by the rabidly racist oligarchy of the Deep South. Such an onslaught could proceed along several lines at once, but perhaps the most effective and spectacular thrust would be an announcement on the part of the executive branch of the government that it was henceforth determined by all available means to enforce the provision of the Fourteenth Amendment barring from federal office anyone elected by a state which denies to some of its citizens the right to vote.

No doubt many further actions could have been taken, but

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these are among the most obvious. The administration carefully, almost ostentatiously, refrained from taking any of them. The President's nation-wide TV address of September 30th contained not one word of condemnation of racism, or of sympathy for the Negro struggle, or of encouragement for James Meredith. On the other hand, it was full of praise for the great traditions of Mississippi and of pleas for good behavior on the part of the bearers of these traditions—at the very moment when the gallant young ladies and gentlemen in question were hurling not only insults but also rocks and bottles at the President's emissaries. Watching and listening to the President, one could not fail to get the impression that he was enforcing the court's order simply because he couldn't avoid it and not at all because he thought it right and just, that his sympathies were much more with the white oppressors than with the Negro oppressed.

If we are right that this TV address accurately reflected and summed up the administration's attitude and behavior throughout, then there can hardly be any doubt that Negroes are not going to get much help from Washington in the long struggle that lies ahead. Moreover, if anything happens to James Meredith—and it is a simple fact that his life will be in imminent danger unless and until radical political changes are effected in Mississippi—then whatever feelings of satisfaction Negroes may have experienced at the dispatch of troops to Oxford could easily be turned into feelings of anger at the government's inability to carry out the moral responsibility it has unwillingly assumed for Meredith's safety and well being.

The truth is that the administration is now caught in a nasty trap. What it has done is not going to satisfy Negroes, and even hoped-for immediate political gains among Northern Negroes could be turned into losses by one act of a crazy racist. And it needs no gift of prophecy to see that the road ahead is strewn with more such traps—when the inevitable orders to desegregate the Universities of Alabama and South Carolina have to be implemented, or when integration begins in the public schools in any one of thousands of communities in the Deep South. The administration must expect diminishing political returns from the enforcement of court orders, but it will still be true that every time it does so it will be charged with moral

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responsibility for protecting defenseless human beings under conditions which make the affording of such protection extremely difficult if not impossible. How can a whole series of setbacks and disasters, ending in the final alienation of the great majority of Negroes, be avoided?

There is, of course, one answer. It is not too late for the federal government to mount a general offensive against the entire political system of the Deep South. This would not solve all the problems of the Negroes of the North—or of the South either for that matter. But it would be the indispensable first step and would be so interpreted by Negroes everywhere. They would enter into such a campaign with the greatest enthusiasm, and the question of their loyalty to the U.S. capitalist system would be taken off the agenda and tabled for an indefinite period. Since this is unquestionably an important objective not only of the Kennedy administration but of the decisive sectors of the ruling class, one may well wonder why Washington seems so profoundly uninterested in seeking this way out of the ugly situation in which it is now trapped.

The reason, unfortunately, is all too clear and has been pointed out more than once in these pages.* During the last hundred years, the U.S. ruling class has evolved a most remarkable political system which permits it to suppress all major issues and to stage sham battles over minor issues without the slightest danger of things getting out of control. A permanent coalition of conservative Northern Republicans and reactionary Southern Democrats is in effect given a decisive veto power which permits it to define the limits of political action. The "liberals" of the two parties then carry on their campaigns and squabbles within these limits.** But for this system to endure, it is essential that the reactionary Southern oligarchy be guaranteed its monopoly of political power in its own region, and this in turn depends on the disfranchisement of Negroes and the continued division of the working class along racial lines. An attack on the peculiar

* See, for example, "The Meaning of Little Rock," the Review of the Month for December, 1957, especially pp. 243-244.

** One can make an interesting analogy to the standard Latin American system under which the veto power is vested in the military and the "democrats" carry on within the limits prescribed for them by the brass.

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institutions of the South would thus in reality be an attack on the whole political setup of the United States today.

What the consequences would be no man can foretell. But it is certain that they would be far-reaching. Political life, which is now so empty and inane, would take on new meaning. The great issues of the day—imperialism and colonialism, war and peace, automation and unemployment—would enter the political arena where they belong. New forces would come to life, new thoughts would be stimulated, new ambitions aroused.

The U.S. ruling class wants none of this. It clings to the old ways which have served it so well for so long, and it gives every indication of continuing to cling to them. But it pays a high price for the privilege. Not only are the issues ignored, with the result that a national drift to multiple disaster remains unchecked. In addition, Negroes are on the way to being transformed from relatively docile hewers of wood and drawers of water into an embittered and potentially revolutionary enemy within the gates.

(October 15, 1962)

Negroes are, in a precise sense, our colonial people and our colonial problem. They are the exploited and their communities are our domestic Algerias without, so far, the commotions of that torn country.

—W. H. Ferry

That [Emancipation] Proclamation frees the slave, but ignores the Negro.

—Wendell Phillips

O, yes,
I say it plain,
America never was America to me.
And yet I swear this oath—
America will be!

—Langston Hughes

If ever we get free from all the oppressions and wrongs heaped upon us, we must pay for their removal. We must do this by labor, by suffering, by sacrifice, and, if need be, by our lives, and the lives of others.

—Frederick Douglass

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FACTS ABOUT FOOD IN CHINA

BY EDGAR SNOW

In view of the widespread ignorance and confusion which exist in this country regarding the situation in China, especially in relation to agriculture and food, we are glad to be able to present to readers of MR an authoritative analysis by Edgar Snow, well known author of *Red Star Over China* from which many of us first got the exciting story of Mao Tse-tung and the rise of Chinese Communism. Mr. Snow returned to China recently and has now completed a monumental work of more than 800 pages which is scheduled for publication later this month by Random House. The following article is a chapter from *The Other Side of the River: Red China Today* by Edgar Snow © Copyright, 1961, 1962 by Edgar Snow, and is reprinted here by permission of the author and publisher. (References will be found at the end of the article.)—The Editors

Throughout 1959-62 many Western press editorials and headlines continued to refer to "mass starvation" in China and continued to cite no supporting facts. As far as I know no report by any non-Communist visitor to China provides an authenticated instance of starvation during this period.[1] Here I am not speaking of food shortages, or lack of surfeit, to which I have made frequent reference, but of people dying of hunger, which is what "famine" connotes to most of us, and what I saw in the past.

While I was in China, *Look* kept sending me queries about "the famine" and I diligently searched, without success, for starving people or beggars to photograph. (Nor did anyone else succeed.) I realize that belief in mass starvation in China is now so widespread as a result of cold-war press indoctrination that statements by actual eyewitnesses may be dismissed as wholly irrelevant. Nevertheless, I must assert that I saw no starving people in China, nothing that looked like old-time famine, and only one beggar (among flood refugees in Shenyang); that I do not believe there is famine in China at this writing; and that the best Western intelligence on China is well aware of this. As we have seen, even in the special case of the emigrants attempting to enter Hong Kong from the Canton delta, no starvation was observed and very few examples of

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malnutrition. Isolated instances of starvation due to neglect or failure of the rationing system were possible. Considerable malnutrition undoubtedly existed. Mass starvation? No.

In these assertions I am supported by fresh information from Western observers in China even more recently than I, including Gilbert Etienne, the Swiss economist and assistant professor at the Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, whose impressions appeared in *Le Monde*[2]; Clare McDermott, currently Peking correspondent for *Reuters*[3]; and a member of the Swiss Federal Assembly, Dr. Armand Forel, who informed me on his return from China in June, 1962, that he was "allowed to roam the streets freely, saw nothing to indicate starvation, no begging, and one case of rickets."[4] The years 1960-61 were critical, but by 1962 the food supply began to approach normal. In September, Mr. McDermott reported that off-ration restaurants were again open in the cities and seemed well supplied.

On July 31, 1962, Richard Starnes reported in the *New York World Telegram,* immediately following a trip to Hong Kong and Southeast Asia: "There is not one shred of evidence known to the West that famine threatens Communist China . . . Red China's army is still well-fed. There is no indication available to Western observers that the army is no longer loyal or would not fight, and fight very hard . . . The hard, simple truth is that American policy cannot prevail in Southeast Asia or anywhere else in the world as long as it is based on myth and wishful thinking."

Chinese officials nowadays take starvation very seriously; to believe that, one need not credit the party leadership with humanitarianism. Many Westerners do not understand that in order to maintain its own image of itself the party *must* see that people are fed. "People are China's asset," but if they do not eat they cannot study or work; if they do not study and work they cannot produce; if they do not produce there is no growth; if there is no growth the system is a failure—and that, to any Chinese Communist, is an impossible thought.

But the food shortage remains real. This is nothing new. "According to a study made from historical records," a Chinese scholar in exile recently wrote, "it was found that between 108

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B.C. and 1911 A.D. there were 1,828 famines, or one almost every year. Potential or actual famine is so much a part of cultural expectation that official figures included a factor for famine in the normal death rate."[5] What is new is that millions of people are not starving, as they did throughout chronic famine in the twenties, thirties and forties. What is new is that an equitable rationing system has been enforced for the first time. What is nearly unbelievable is that a government exists in China which (whatever else history may charge against it) actually kept enough foreign currency out of the pockets of officials to be able to pay hard cash for millions of tons of grain imported after the harvest failures of 1960—rather than beg from the United States, as normal people do.

Agricultural recovery has been China's major preoccupation since 1961.

Were the 1960 calamities actually as severe as reported by Peking—"the worst series of disasters since the nineteenth century," as Chou En-lai told me? Weather was not the only cause of the disappointing harvest but it was undoubtedly a major cause. With good weather the crops would have been ample; without it, other adverse factors I have cited—some discontent in the communes, bureaucracy, transportation bottlenecks—made things worse. The impact on Chinese peasant psychology (still not altogether free from superstition) of three years of bad weather in *combination* with commune innovations was recognized by policy changes in 1961-62 which, as we have seen, abandoned ultra-advanced socialist aims and restored many incentives to individual enterprise.

Merely from personal observation in 1960 I know that there was no rain in large areas of northern China for 200 to 300 days. I have mentioned unprecedented floods in central Manchuria, where I was marooned in Shenyang for a week. Between Shenyang and Dairen I watched tens of thousands of people building levees to try to save part of their soya bean crop inundated by the Red River. While Northeast China was struck by eleven typhoons—the largest number in fifty years—I saw the Yellow River reduced to a small stream. In Shantung it virtually disappeared and about half the cotton and wheat crops were lost. Drought, flood, storms, frost, pests and plant diseases reportedly

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destroyed or affected 150,000,000 acres of crops in 1960, or more than half of China's cultivated area.

In surplus-burdened America we have no rainfall problem comparable to the vagaries of the Yellow River Valley. Bad weather over a few states brings no national hardships; indeed, a few years of New England floods or Midwestern drought might be regarded as a boon to swollen government granaries. For China, living very close to the margins of want, and where food cereals make up three-fourths to four-fifths of the average diet (compared to less than one-fifth in the United States), a harvest drop of 20 percent in a single year means immediate privation.

In the best year of her history, 1958, China probably exceeded American cereal output, running at low speed. In highly mechanized, deep-plowed American croplands, using 25,000,000 tons of chemical fertilizer, one farm laborer feeds thirty-six people; in China, with only 5 or 6 percent of her farmland mechanized thus far, and producing less than 3,000,000 tons of chemical fertilizer, one farm laborer can feed only three people[6] —if the weather cooperates. But comparisons between China and the United States—which alone accounts for nearly half the world's exports of grain—are less significant than comparisons between China and other less-favored nations.

Usually it takes China two or more years of normal crops to recover from one year like 1960. But 1959 had already been subnormal. In 1961 rainfall in the wheat areas of North China was only slightly better than in 1960. Many reservoirs and shallow wells dried up, the Yellow River again failed the people of Shantung, and other caprices recurred. In these years harvests were lost or minimized over such wide areas that large-scale famine would have been inevitable in earlier epochs. It was avoided only because yields in some favored provinces were extrordinarily good; because state grain collection and distribution was somehow accomplished despite still very backward transportation facilities; because a policy of maximum local self-sufficiency was promoted by utilizing marginal land either as private plots or collectively for emergency gardens; because a strict rationing system was effected with frugality and reasonable equity by people made fully conscious of a national emer-

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gency; and because in all these policies the state was able to utilize the interdependent and mutual-help system of collective or commune society.

Finally, in January, 1961, the government reversed itself—belatedly but just in time—on its cherished road of priority for the expansion of heavy industry. Having done so, it focused the nation's major efforts on an all-out attempt to produce adequate harvests—a goal which it had boastfully proclaimed solved, and which it now humbly admitted had not been solved, back in 1958.

What is the actual extent of China's harvest failures or successes, how does output compare with that of other nations in trouble, what is the average person now getting to eat, and what prospect of improvement is there, if any? I have already given scattered testimony to these questions; here it seems necessary to offer some general perspective. Any attempt of this kind is bound to involve the reader in rather heavy material, to follow the unraveling of a mystery story; it is worth the effort because China's food problem is a matter of cosmic proportions and affects the entire world.

What is an adequate diet? World health authorities do not agree that it is the 3,000 to 3,500 calories which the average American or Englishman is supposed to get. Unless he is expending extraordinary energy, any person consuming that much is overeating, a disease perhaps more common in the United States than malnutrition in China. The average middle-class American family probably wastes and throws away enough food every day to answer the minimal needs of an average Chinese, Japanese or Vietnamese family. For non-gourmands a minimum of 2,000-2,200 calories in balanced diet is adequate[7] except for heavy workers; when average consumption falls below 1,750 calories over a considerable period, deficiency diseases develop. It has been calculated by both Western and Chinese specialists that to get this average the Chinese needs about 1,500 calories in grain, in addition to a minimum of 500 he is able to get from other food items.

To provide 700,000,000 people with 1,500 calories in cereals every day requires a gross annual crop of about 180,000,000 metric tons of grain or its equivalent in potatoes and soya beans.

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A smaller gross crop may suffice only if there is considerable reduction of normal allowances for fodder, seed grain, reserves, waste and nonfood uses or if other sources of food energy are widely developed—as has been the case in China.* Otherwise, a gross grain harvest of about 2,300 kilograms (one kilogram equals 2.2 pounds) per head would be about adequate today—and was much more than adequate in 1958, for a 625-650,000,000 population.

Has China been able to produce 180,000,000 tons? Here we tread upon ground highly speculative since the Great Leap began. The Bureau of Statistics' estimate of 108,000,000 tons output for 1949 is generally considered an understatement designed to indicate a high rate of growth in subsequent years, but most Western economists accepted the following official figures as approximately correct: 1953, at 156,000,000 tons; 1955, at 174,000,000 tons; 1957, at 185,000,000 tons.[8]

I have commented on the 1958 aberrations (which carried over to mid-1959) when "politics in command of statistics" brought results as near fantasy as inflated stock prices in relation to real values proved to be in Wall Street in May, 1962. Revisions of overclaims reduced official figures for 1958 grain output to 261,000,000 tons and, still later, to 250,000,000 tons; 1959 output was first put at 281,000,000 tons. Only a government stronger and more self-confident than any modern China has known before would accept the "loss of face" entailed by admissions of error on so humiliating a scale. Even these greatly reduced figures for 1958 and 1959 were indirectly recognized, in conversations I had with Chinese officials in 1960, as still involving serious overstatements.

Since the 1959 "anti-buoyant exaggeration" reform began in the Bureau of Statistics, no comprehensive agricultural returns have been released at all. Chou En-lai's statement to me that the 1960 harvest was poorer than 1958 and 1959 but "higher than 1957" has remained a principal clue which Western specialists in Chinese agrarian affairs have employed in arriving at recent estimates. On this basis one expert sug-

* As examples, the Chinese have learned to process an edible and highly nutritious dry biscuit from green leaves of certain trees and also from processed sea algae.

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gested that China's grain output in 1960 might have been "something on the order of 190,000,000 tons."[9]

I am able to offer some additional information which gives a much lower and, I believe, more realistic estimate of the extent of the 1960 setback. In my interview with Wu Chen, vice-minister of agriculture, he referred to 1956 and 1959 as "bad years," indicating that the harvest increase, if any, fell below population growth on both occasions. It seems that 1959 not only did not exceed 1958 production but likely fell as low as 190,000,000 tons, or even less. Mr. Wu said that the 1960 grain tax of 24,000,000 tons was "based on a maximum of 12 percent tax on the 1958 crop." That would indicate a taxable crop of 200,000,000 tons for 1958.* The grain tax was to be held fixed for three or four years. Mr. Wu added, "Even if the 1960 harvest should reach as high as 250,000,000 tons the tax will still be only 24,000,000 tons." The intimation to me was that 250,000,000 tons was now regarded as a high aspiration yet to be attained.

Chou En-lai's comment, quoted above, was made on October 18, 1960. A visiting foreign economist who was consulted by Chou En-lai on statistical method in the formulation of crop estimates later told me that in his presence the Prime Minister had berated top statisticians for bringing him revised figures which showed that their earlier estimates had been 20 percent above what now seemed the probable expectation. That was in mid-November. If 190,000,000 tons was something like their earlier estimates, a reduction by 20 percent would bring it down to 152,000,000 tons. That was my own guess for the 1960 harvest.

Such an estimate would correspond also with what Marshal Montgomery was told in a long interview he had with Mao Tse-tung late in 1961. "The normal grain harvest in China is about 180 million tons; in 1960 it was 150 million tons and the forecast for 1961 was ten million tons more," wrote Lord Montgomery in paraphrasing his conversation with Mao. "They had used up all their reserves of grain during the past *three*

* In a conversation with Yung Lung-kuei, of the Bureau of Statistics, however, the "maximum" tax rate was given as 13 percent, which would give a slightly lower output for 1958.

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years to feed the nation; they now had to build up fresh reserves."[10] Mao's figures were much below estimates by the most skeptical Western specialists. Montgomery did not report whether Mao's figure included potatoes, but probably it did. As a rule Chinese use "grain" loosely as a synonym for "food crops" exclusive of vegetables but not of potatoes. Mao has followed that usage. It should be added that the taxable harvest is always lower than the gross output, however, as it excludes private plot and considerable above-quota peasant production and consumption.

Nevertheless, it thus seemed probable that China's grain product in 1960 was 17 to 20 percent below "normal grain harvest" and that the full extent of the inflated estimates for 1958 and 1959 had at last been fully recognized. The imperative necessity for a massive campaign to grow additional food by all means, and to halt most new capital construction while industry concentrated its output on improving the tools of agriculture, became obvious. Measures were initiated such as I have mentioned seeing used—private gardens, private poultry and pig raising, wide cultivation of marginal land for fodder (especially sweet potatoes) and for human consumption—as well as the return of certain acreages planted in cotton, hemp, tobacco and other "cash crops" to the production of food.

Reports abroad have given somewhat distorted notions of the amount of food exported by China. That seems to have been held to less than 2 percent, more than half of which was soya beans up to 1955, according to figures supplied by Ch'en Yun in a reply to questions raised in the second session of the National Congress. On August 15, 1959, Chou En-lai reported that up to that date the year's "exports of rice totaled only 792,000 tons while our pork exports were equivalent to only 1,400,000 pigs; this constituted less than one percent of last year's output of rice" and a similar percentage of the pig population.[11] In 1960, I was told by Yao I-lin, Minister of Commerce, that the grain export quota fixed for that year was 4,000,000 tons, or less than 2 percent of an expectation of 220,000,000 tons. I later learned from foreign diplomats that certain contracts had been annulled. Others were largely balanced by rice imports—chiefly from Burma and Ceylon, before heavy purchases from Canada

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and Australia began in 1961.

The rice China exported to Cuba—in exchange for much-needed sugar—and the small tonnages sent to a few other countries to fulfill barter contracts, altogether amounted to a bagatelle in relation to internal consumption. The nation has exported processed meat, eggs, dairy products and other foodstuffs; this is also small-scale compared to the total. (Even if the people consumed *all* their existing cattle, pigs and poultry those would provide less than 500 calories per day per person, for *one* year, as may be calculated from the food tables in the Appendix.) The fact is that China again became a heavy grain importer in 1961. Purchases of wheat and barley made her Canada's No. 2 customer and Australia's No. 1 customer in 1961. China bought outright 6,466,000 tons of foreign grain, for 1961-63 deliveries, at a cost of $367,000,000. New contract options drawn with Canada alone would enable China to double that purchase within the same period, *if necessary.*

Crop failures and the drain on foreign exchange to buy food abroad not only halted domestic industrial expansion but depressed a promising foreign trade. Agricultural products still contribute a little over one-third of the value of China's industrial output as a whole. About half the national revenue "comes directly or indirectly from agriculture," while "over 70 percent of the total volume of exports consists of agricultural products or processed agricultural goods (textiles, etc.)."[12] In 1950, China's exports and imports amounted to only $2,000,000,000; by 1959 they reached $6,000,000,000, and showed a growing balance in China's favor. Sixty to 80 percent of this trade has been oriented to the Communist bloc; in late years a slight shift to non-Communist countries resulted in an exchange of products valued at $1,500,000,000 in 1959. That alone is more than China's total world trade before the war. Until 1961 well over 90 percent of all China's imports had been machinery or other capital goods. The proportion of her own exports of industrial and mining products rose from 9 percent in 1950 to 27 percent in 1958, while her exports of agricultural raw materials and products fell from 58 percent to 36 percent. In 1961, however, trade with the U.S.S.R. declined 20 percent and fell off 50 percent or more with most other countries.

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Even if the Chinese in one year consumed all the grain so far delivered from abroad it would add less than 100 grams to the average daily diet. As I have emphasized, rations in China are not equally distributed, except among children. They are based on the amount and kind of work performed and, to some extent, on the estimate of his needs which every individual, after "examining his conscience," is required to make. Late in 1960 I was told by Yao I-lin that the national average minimum grain ration was 25 catties (27.5 pounds) a month for dependents and sedentary workers, and ranged to 40 pounds and up for heavy workers. "Senior intellectuals" were classified with miners and steel fabricators as "heavy workers," incidentally, as may be seen in the ration tables in the Appendix.

Mr. Yao asserted that the monthly minimum of 25 catties (in whole rice, about 1,500 calories daily) could and would be maintained; in some areas it might temporarily fall below that. Dependents or non-producers in the cities were always the first to feel shortages of supply and cases of undernourishment generally were found in this category. Contrary to impressions abroad, peasants eat well (heavy workers' rations) unless they are in areas of grave underproduction or want. The dispersal of "nonessential" persons from the cities in 1960 and 1961 was a form of direct food relief; they went *hsia fang* to produce or earn their own food at the source.

Szechuan boasts that it alone can "feed five provinces," but it is a long haul from there to coastal Shantung or Canton. Inadequate transportation is a first handicap in fair distribution. Freight priorities on railways (with a mileage still about one-thirtieth as much per person as that in the United States) had heavily favored industrialization programs. Motor vehicles, even more inadequate, were likewise needed for the shipment of raw materials and finished products in accordance with industrial ambitions. The movement of food into the cities even from near suburbs was, as I saw, still largely accomplished by hand carts or human backs. Raising transport priorities for food and agricultural tools in order to meet emergency needs was in itself enough to impose a slowdown in industrialization.

One area least accessible is near the Canton delta which produces the Hongkong immigrants. "It seems clear," wrote

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John Watt, a British China specialist, in a study of the effect of transportation on famine prevention, "that there are areas lying east and southwest of Canton and between the East and West rivers and the coastline which are not well served by transportation and which, in the event of natural calamities and the exhaustion of local supplies, could not easily obtain relief from elsewhere."[13]

It is not generally known abroad that China has been publishing the results of nutritional surveys for several years. Only recently these have become available through translations distributed by the United States Department of Commerce. One foreign specialist in agrarian affairs has made a study of these surveys for the *China Quarterly,* a London publication sponsored by the Congress for Cultural Freedom, which is an anti-Communist organization. After careful analysis his conclusion is that the Chinese data represent "results of their investigations in a manner free from political bias."[14] For example, one survey revealed the existence of protein deficiency ailments in 4 percent of the students of a Changsha secondary school who had been working "from 4 A.M. to 10 P.M., preparing for examinations." By contrast, surveys conducted in 586 commune canteens in 1958 and 1959 showed peasant intake averaging from 2,245 calories per head daily in August, up to 3,000 and 4,000 calories during the busy harvesting seasons. Proteins, fats, carbohydrates, calcium and vitamins were found generally adequate. The author's conclusion was that even in 1961 "the diet, though monotonous and lacking the protective foods considered essential in European consumption patterns, is sufficient to sustain the Chinese population in good health and working condition."[15]

An interesting fact brought out by China's nutritional surveys is that women engaged in productive work generally raise their food consumption at a higher rate than men. In 1960, in Peking, I was told by Mayor Wu Han that the "250,000 women added to the municipal working force since 1956" had caused demands for food much greater than anticipated. A Chinese woman put on "heavy duty" work increases her food intake by 900 calories a day compared to 670 calories for a man.

My own conclusion, based on observations in the field and available data, is that the minimum "average diet" of *urban*

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Chinese in 1960-62—varying with the seasons—consisted of about 1,350 to 1,450 calories a day in grain or equivalents. This meant a drop in the basic grain ration to slightly below the level of the year 1952. Persons on minimum rations now had to get from 500 to 800 calories a day from increased production and consumption of vegetables, fruit, poultry, fish, eggs, fats, oils or substitutes which normally supply about 300-500 calories per person. Peasants ate much more, on the average 2,000 to 3,500 calories, with seasonal variations; many non-worker urban people got less than 2,000 calories. Whatever he was eating, the "average Chinese" maintained himself in good health, as far as anyone could see. Since 1960 the government has been "building up fresh reserves" of grain, as Mao Tse-Tung stated; withholdings are more substantial than in the past.

"Statistics are made to conceal as well as to reveal," one Chinese citizen remarked to me when I complained of their former unreliability and current scarcity. Bearing this philosophy in mind, it is possible to decide that the present dearth of factual data conceals nothing but bad news. Obversely, it would be prudent not to overlook the possibility that the Chinese authorities have learned the lessons of self-deceiving claims in 1958 and 1959, that understatement is now in vogue, and that present austerity measures may reflect a determination first to establish food and industrial reserves sufficient to meet any future series of natural reverses—before announcing new gains to either their own people or the outside world.

Government officials know that China must not only catch up with 1958 output but considerably surpass it. "Now *here,* you see," said the Red Queen to Alice, "it takes all the running *you* can do, to keep in the same place. If you want to get somewhere else, you must run at least twice as fast as that!" By 1963 China will have added to her population, since 1958, more people than there are in Great Britain. If the "normal harvest" was 180,000,000 tons (as Mao told Marshal Montgomery) China should in 1962 have increased her output above 1961 by 13 percent in order to get back to "normal." To catch up with population growth from 1958 to 1962 another 8 percent would have to be added to that. To "get somewhere else," and well ahead of her population increment, output in 1963

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ought to exceed 200,000,000 tons.

The nation has suffered and learned the hard way, by experience acquired in do-it-yourself techniques. In their schematic overemphasis on heavy industry and certain other doctrinaire measures its leaders repeated some of the Russian errors. They have made others all their own. They have learned that too much haste makes waste; they now know a great deal more about what won't work; they are at least farther along than countries which are making no basic efforts to solve their own problems. What solutions emerge will be pragmatic and suitable to Chinese conditions. For various other reasons my conclusion is that, given peace and reasonable luck, somewhere between 1963 and 1967 China may astonish the world by demonstrating that she can comfortably feed her population. In this estimate I am assuming that China will continue the renewed emphasis, which began in 1961, on various means of curtailment of the rate of population growth, including mass distribution of the means of birth control and advocacy of the postponement of marriages to the age of twenty-one for women and twenty-three to twenty-five for men.

Until then, no one can contend that "socialist construction" has solved China's fundamental problems. What is more, no Communist country anywhere has yet produced anything like what Marxists call "food abundance." Over the whole decade 1949-59 China appears to have made more progress in that direction than Russia was able to make, despite its greater natural wealth, during the first thirty-three years of socialism. In his report to the Central Committee in 1953, Nikita Khrushchev complained that "although the Soviet population had increased by nearly 50 million and the world agricultural technique showed a great advance over 1916, there was less livestock in the U.S.S.R. in 1952 than in 1916. Grain production in comparable areas could only show an increase of barely 5 percent since 1928."

Nor did Tito's "other road to socialism" in Yugoslavia, where most farmland has remained under private ownership, show results to impress China. In 1961 Yugoslavia had a harvest shortfall 30 percent below expectations. In 1962 the Yugoslavs were warned to prepare "for a harvest so bad that it could

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almost classify as a disaster." The nation's wheat crop again would be "less than 3,000,000 tons . . . nearly 1,000,000 tons under Yugoslavia's annual consumption requirements."[16] In 1961-62 Tito received about 1,000,000 tons of grain from United States surpluses; now the same amount would have to be provided in 1963, to feed her 19,000,000 people. According to Senator William Proxmire, writing in the *New York Times* of June 22, the United States had by 1962 provided $2,000,000,000 in aid to Yugoslavia. Had Red China received per capita help on the same scale from the United States we would by now have dropped about $70,000,000,000 there.

India, where free enterprise, free-world aid and American philanthropy actively compete with Soviet help, certainly provides no viable alternative. India consumes so little meat that it is not even listed in her production; the staple food of the millions is almost wholly grain or equivalents.

China's food supply has steadily improved compared to that of India. According to comparative studies made by Professor Etienne for 1952 and 1955, normal years in both countries, the per capita output in China was more than 30 percent higher than in India.[17] In 1958-59, considered a good year in India, when the population was about 420,000,000 (today it is around 450,000,000), the grain harvest (potatoes, beans and lentils included) was reported at 75,500,000 tons.[18] The Indian figure might be reckoned as high as 85,000,000 tons, however, if Indian rice were weighed as paddy, or uncleaned, as it is in China. Even so, that would mean a per person gross output about 10 percent below that of China in the year of her worst disaster of the century, 1960. (Not counting soya beans, 5 to 10 percent of China's crop.) Nothing in China is comparable to the hunger and beggary one sees on the streets of Calcutta or the villages of Bengal.

But perhaps the American experience could solve China's agricultural problems? Yes, it might—if we could duplicate, in China, the present endowments of the United States system. One way to start might be to reduce China's population by 80 percent, or 550,000,000 people, thereby providing, for the surviving 150,000,000 Chinese, about the same acreage of cropland per person that America has. A less drastic way would be

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to expand China's croplands by 40,000,000 acres—to equal the United States' currently cultivated area—to increase China's fertilizer output by ten times, to increase her motor-mechanized agriculture by twenty times, and then to secure a yield some 400 percent better than the United States now harvests from *the same amount of land.* In the course of completing this altruistic demonstration we should also have to find gainful employment for about 200,000,000 Chinese farmers whose labor would be rendered superfluous by the change.

There is still another way in which the American system might work wonders for China. The United States and Canada have about a billion acres of idle croplands and grasslands. Perhaps the surplus Chinese (over and above the equivalent of United States land-per-acre population) could be imported to cultivate this land for their own consumption and export to hungry and poor lands only? The effect would be to quadruple or better the United States-Canadian food output, to provide an abundance not only for China but for the whole world, enormously to increase the wealth and importance of the entire Western hemisphere, to eliminate all future danger of war between West and East, dispose of the have-nots problem and incalculably enrich both Asian and American culture.

The trouble is, that is not realistic. How would that affect Senator Eastland, for example, and the quarter of a million dollars he has received as an annual reward for idling his thousands of acres of Mississippi land? What about Mr. Estes and his vanishing silos? And Texas? It does not seem likely that this solution will be adopted while Senator Eastland remains chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, and immigration inspector. Nor is it likely as long as Mississippi retains the championship for the lowest per capita income in the nation, an illiteracy rate some 30 percent higher than Japan's, a maternal and infant mortality rate higher than that of urban China, the highest percentage of native-born white citizens in America, and the lowest percentage of Negro voters.

These daydreams suggest that the United States will no more solve China's food problem by means of the American system than it will solve Hong Kong's overpopulation problem by providing open house for surplus Orientals.

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The Chinese are of course mistaken in suspecting that the United States has the Christian intention of reducing their population by 80 percent. But no leader, whether a capitalist nationalist or a communist socialist, could welcome even the possibility of having so radical a solution imposed on his nation. On the contrary, the Chinese must strive not only to feed and conserve their multitudes; they must at the same time build nuclear bombs, to ensure that any invading force will suffer at least a comparable reduction in numbers. This is what both common-sense American capitalist nationalists and common-sense Chinese Communist nationalists agree to call Security.

NOTES

1. There was certainly some starvation in the first years of the P.R.C.; after 1954, no further incidents were reported, until 1957. In June of that year it was revealed by press reports that 14,700 Kwangsi peasants caught in a severe drought in 1956 had been transported but not until 550 of their number had died of starvation. It was a major public scandal; senior officials of the province and responsible party members were reported dismissed and punished for concealing the facts.
2. While noting signs of possible malnutrition such as "ballooning stomacs," "thin breasts" and "meagre bodies" of the "Asian norm," Mr. Etienne wrote: "It may be said at the outset—and it is one of the rare points where we have the pretension to be categorical—that it is false to speak of 'general famine.' The dolorous times of the Kuomintang, when millions of human lives were eliminated for want of minimum subsistence, have not reappeared." *Le Monde,* December 12, 1961.
3. In personal letters.
4. Personal letter, Nyon, Switzerland, June 27, 1962. Dr. Forel comes from one of Switzerland's distinguished families. He is also a Communist.
5. Hu Chang-tu, *op. cit.,* p. 397.
6. "Proportional Relationship Between Industry and Agriculture," *Ta Kung-pao,* Peking, Feb. 2, 1961.
7. William Kaye, "The State of Nutrition in Communist China," *C.Q.,* No. 7, July-Sept., 1961.
8. *T.G.Y.,* p. 119.
9. William Kaye, "Communist China's Agricultural Calamities," *C.Q.,* No. 6, April-June, 1961.
10. *Sunday Times,* London, Oct. 15, 1961.
11. "Report on China's Economic Plan," F.L.P., 1960.
12. "Proportional Relationships . . ."
13. *C.Q.,* No. 6, April-June, 1961.
14. William Kaye, "The State of Nutrition . . ."
15. *Ibid.*
16. *N.Y. Times,* June 10, 1961.
17. Gilbert Etienne, *De Caboul ā Pékin,* Geneva, 1959, Ch. IV.
18. *Eastern Economist,* New Delhi, May 1, 1962.

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WHY I WILL NOT REGISTER

BY DOROTHY RAY HEALEY

When the Supreme Court by a narrow vote of 5 to 4 upheld the registration provision of the McCarran Internal Security Act, traditional concepts of American justice were dismembered.

Every high school civics student is taught that in our country guilt is personal; that no laws can be passed which "inflict pains, penalties and punishments without judicial trial." Yet if I were to comply with the registration provision I would, under oath, be registering as a "saboteur, spy, and foreign agent," for these are the legislative findings about Communist Party membership embodied in the McCarran Act.

We have specific laws covering each of these acts. The McCormick Act, for instance, provides that anyone acting as an agent of a foreign power must register. If I am a foreign agent as charged by the McCarran Act why have I not been arrested under the specific provisions of the McCormick Foreign Agents Registration Law? The answer is clear. I would have to be tried in a court of law on that specific charge; the government would have to provide evidence that I am a foreign agent. The fact is that no Communist has ever been arrested under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, because of the need of due process requiring proof of individual guilt. Senator McCarran on the Senate floor on September 5, 1950, speaking on behalf of his bill, established this when he said, "It will be increasingly difficult to establish in particular cases the violations of existing law." Senator Ferguson, reporting for the Senate Judiciary Committee, added that the McCormick and Voorhis Acts, requiring registration of foreign agents, were not adequate because the government had never felt able to establish proof of such foreign agency of the Communist party in a court of law.

Mrs. Healey is Chairman of the Communist Party for Southern California, with headquarters in Los Angeles.

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The "solution" to the lack of evidence was simple: substitute legislative "findings" (provided by House Un-American Activities Committee hearings where no cross-examination is provided) defining Communist Party membership as involving "guilt" of precisely those actions for which no legal proof can be obtained. To make certain that legal proof is not required, these legislative findings are not subject to review by the Subversive Activities Control Board nor judical review. ("It is not for the courts to re-examine the validity of these legislative findings and reject them," stated the Frankfurter decision in the McCarran Internal Security Act case.)

Compare this process, which excludes judicial review, with the definition of Bills of Attainder (specifically prohibited by our Constitution, Article I, Section 9) in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*: "a parliamentary method of exercising judicial authority . . . a species of extra judicial procedure for the direct punishment of political offenses. Dispensing with the ordinary judicial forms and precedents, they [the Tudor Kings] took away from the accused whatever advantages he might have gained in the courts of law; such evidence only was admitted which might be necessary to insure conviction; indeed in many cases Bills of Attainder were passed without any evidence being provided at all."

Constitutional prohibition against Bills of Attainder also precluded naming the Communist Party by name in the McCarran Act, but Richard Nixon explained on the floor of Congress how to get around the Constitution: "We came to the conclusion that naming the Communist Party by name and attempting to build the entire registration provisions around such a definition was an un-Constitutional approach, and consequently the committee attempted to find a legislative *device* for meeting the problem in a Constitutional manner." What was the legislative device? Why instead of saying Communist Party the Act says "the Communist *organization!*" It's really quite simple, you see, to get around the Constitution. If you are prohibited from outlawing a political party you simply declare—via legislative findings—that it isn't a party but an "international conspiracy." Proof? You simply parade a stable of professional informers before the committee to say so.

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As further evidence of this the following colloquy is illuminating: Congressman Cellers (D) warned, "if we outlaw the Communist party there is no reason why, if the Republicans are in control, they could not outlaw the Democratic Party and vice versa. . . ." Congressman Halleck (R): "I think the gentleman should understand that the very language in the bill indicates that the Communist Party is not a political party. It is an international conspiracy to destroy your party and mine." Congressman Celler: "Yes, but you hold the trump cards—you who are in power. You can declare the party anything you wish. You do that by a mere declaration—by fiat. You could do the same with the Democratic Party. You could say that any party that opposes high tariffs or believes in deficit spending is subversive. . . . You could say therefore by the same token that the Democratic Party should be taboo."

The hearings before the Subversive Activities Control Board were further evidence that the procedures used against the Communist Party can be utilized against non-Communists. In order to "prove" that the Communist Party is an agent of a foreign power, Professor Philip Mosley testified that on 45 international issues presented to the SACB, there was "no substantial difference between the positions of the Communist Party of the United States and of the Soviet Union." Leave aside for the moment the fact that in 27 out of the 45 issues the positions taken by the Communist Party preceded those of the Soviet Union—in some cases by 16 years; if one pursues the "logic" of the legislators and the courts this makes the Soviet Union the agent of the Communist Party of the United States! But let us examine some of the issues which "proved" the charge of being foreign agents. "That Chiang Kai-shek was a corrupt dictator; that Syngman Rhee headed a police state dictatorship; that China should be admitted to the United Nations."

All of these are controversial issues of foreign policy, but what is at stake here is that if you take *one* side on these issues you can be labeled a foreign agent. Professor Walter Gellhorn of the Columbia Law School faculty points out:

> Laws of this type must inevitably restrict the freedoms of speech and assembly. The McCarran Act . . . sets forth, as one of

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the important criteria for judging the character of an organization brought before the SACB, the extent of its adherence to the expressed policies of the Soviet Union. Thus, if an organization were to devote itself to, say, supporting the admission of Red China into the United Nations, or to control of nuclear weapons according to the Russian instead of the American prescription . . . it might at least conceivably have to face demands that it register as a Communist organization—for all of these are among the declared objectives of the Soviet Union, though all of them are conscientiously supported by persons who have independently arrived at the same conclusions. If people cannot meet when they wish and espouse whatever views they choose without risking the pains and penalties of forced registration, they are to that extent less free than they were before.

It is ironic that those who inveigh the most against big government and against the dangers of federal bureaucracy are the very ones who applaud the most dangerous intrusion of big government: government controls into the realm of ideas and association. Those who declaim against federal aid to education on the ground that it may increase governmental control, are quite prepared to applaud federal agencies' determining what ideas and organizations are legal. The McCarran Act does not therefore solely jeopardize the liberty of Communists. In the process of invading the sovereign right of the voter to decide on the merits of any political party, the weight of the McCarran Act provides that "any high official or party can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion or other matters of opinion, or force citizens to confess by words or act their faith therein." (Supreme Court in Burnette Case).

A further example of hydraulic pressure exercised by the McCarran Act is that Communists are forbidden to participate in the debates on Communism taking place in universities. It is not solely my right to speak that is at stake. It is the students' right to listen to diverse viewpoints that is jeopardized. The words of John Stuart Mill are still relevant. "He who knows only his own side of the case, knows little of that . . . nor is it enough that he should hear the arguments of adversaries from his own teachers, presented as they state them, and accompanied by what they offer as refutations . . . He must be able to hear

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them from persons who actually believe them; who defend them in earnest, and do their very utmost for them."

The Act provides that I as an officer must register the names of all members. If I omit any names I am guilty of perjury. The definition of membership includes anyone who cooperates in any form with the Communist Party. Should I register Dwight David Eisenhower who has been charged with being "a member of the international Communist conspiracy?" Should I register Justice Felix Frankfurter, the author of the majority opinion upholding the McCarran Act? Far fetched? Well, here is what the *Los Angeles Medical Journal* of July 20 states in its editorial under the heading, "The Progress of Socialism in the United States": "The difference between Fabian and Marxian Socialism is the denial of the former of its true objectives. Of middle and upper class origin, it relies on stealth and deception to achieve penetration."

Who are these dangerous people who rely on *stealth* and *deception* to advance socialism? The editorial names Felix Frankfurter, Walter Lippmann, Stuart Chase, and Roger Baldwin. So, if I were to forego all honor and integrity and complied with the informer provisions of the Act by registering the membership and left off Justice Frankfurter's name I could conceivably be charged with perjury. The McCarran Act is too long and complicated to deal with adequately in this space. More detailed analysis may be found in President Harry Truman's Veto Message, the dissenting opinions of the four Supreme Court Justices, and Professor Zechariah Chaffee's, *The Blessing of Liberty.*

Gus Hall and Ben Davis, national officers of the Communist Party, have been arrested and the Communist Party as an organization has been indicted. These will be the first test cases under the McCarran Act. Support for the defendants should be forthcoming from all who recognize that it is not alone the rights of Communists that are at stake. I am confident that my fellow Americans today will oppose the McCarran Act as our forefathers opposed the Alien and Sedition Acts in 1798 when the Jeffersonians were charged with being foreign agents of France.

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MEXICO: THE JANUS FACES OF 20th-CENTURY BOURGEOIS REVOLUTION

BY ANDREW GUNDER FRANK

Mexico's revolutionary break with her 19th-century legacy of feudalism and imperialism, carried out at the cost of a million lives, began in 1910. Many of the political, economic, and social fruits of the Mexican Revolution were slow in ripening, and many will be gathered only in the future. From the U.S. point of view, Mexico seemed to be setting the worst kind of example to the rest of Latin America. Accordingly, the U.S. first interfered economically and diplomatically, then sent troops to capture Vera Cruz, and even as late as 1937 labeled the Mexican government "Bolshevik." At the same time, Latin America, still beset by the alliance between feudalism and imperialism, came to view the Mexican Revolution as a guiding star and shining example. By now, much has changed. Today, the U.S. is full of praise for Mexico's example of "economic progress with political stability"; and President Kennedy, indeed, is asking the Mexican government to become the pilot country in the Alliance for Progress. Latin America, in the meantime, has turned eyes toward Cuba and asks if the example of Mexico's 50-year revolution is one to follow after all. Let us, therefore, turn to the lessons that Mexico's experience holds for Latin America and the world.

The Mexican Revolution resulted in a tremendous release of popular energy, which, after the fighting ended, went into the construction of a new society. The destruction of feudalism radically changed the social relations of man to man. The peasant's accession to human dignity, when compared with the conditions of servitude which still persist in, say, Guatemala and Peru, is perhaps the Revolution's most important accomplishment. That same energy was also released through improved health (the mortality rate has fallen by two thirds since 1910)

Dr. Frank is a member of the social science faculty of Wayne State University in Detroit. He has recently spent long periods traveling and studying in Latin America.

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and transformed into large increases of work, education (illiteracy rate reduced by one half), and skills, which in turn, particularly since 1940, have been transformed into Mexico's remarkable economic growth. Only a post- or non-feudal society could permit and produce such land reform (millions of small landholdings created), roads (sevenfold increase since 1940 so that now nearly half of all goods travel by truck and almost all passengers by bus), irrigation (an elevenfold increase since 1940 so that a third of all cropland is now irrigated), urbanization (to nearly 50 percent), industrialization (3.6-fold increase from 1940 to 1959), agricultural output (3.4-fold between 1940 and 1959); and, despite one of the world's highest rates of population growth, GNP per capita doubled from $150 to $300 a year. According to Rostow, Mexico has passed the threshold into self-sustained economic growth. Indeed, the annual rates of growth during the postwar years of both industrial and agricultural output rank Mexico among the first half-dozen countries in the world.*

And yet Mexico's revolution has had another face as well. Her crude death rate of 12.5 remains higher than that of Bolivia or Peru, her infant mortality rate of 81 in a 1000 higher than that of Argentina. Her ratio of doctors to people (1 to 2,200) is lower than Chile's and less than half of Argentina's. The 43 percent illiteracy that remained in 1950 hardly compares with 19 percent in Chile and 13 percent in Argentina. The ratio of working population engaged in manufacturing remains at 12 percent; and Mexico's per capita income of still less than $300 ranks her behind Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and Cuba, to say nothing of oil-rich Venezuela. After the large-scale redistribution of lands, over a million heads of rural families remained without land of their own; and, with population growth, the number may have risen to nearer 2 million (out of a total of maybe 4 million) since 1950. The average Mexican diet has a caloric deficit of -24.4 according to the UN's Food and Agriculture Organization; and the 3 million indigenous Indians out of today's population of over 30 million remain economically as badly or maybe worse off than the *poorest* of

* A note on sources will be found at the end of the article.

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their forefathers of the time before the Conquest, four and a half centuries ago. However large the social change, the economic benefits of the Mexican Revolution have not reached, or have been withheld from, large parts of the population; about 50 percent receive today only 15 percent of the national income; and it has been estimated (although also challenged) that only 1 percent of the population disposes of 66 percent of the *money* income. Further, the inequality of income distribution is increasing, not decreasing.

The wealth and elegance of downtown Mexico City dazzle the visitor, and the heavy industry of Monterrey impresses as another Pittsburgh; but equally do the miles of Mexico City's shanty slums depress, as does the poverty of rural Tlaxcala and Chiapas dumbfound. The question inevitably presents itself: have Mexico's 50 years of revolution really been a success or have they been a failure?

Compared to the experience of her closest neighbors, especially in Central America, Andean South America, and the Caribbean, Mexico's 20th century has appeared as an obvious success, the more so as these countries are only in the present decade getting ready to break the bonds that shackle them. But has the Mexican Revolution also been a failure they should seek to avoid? Economic progress in Western Europe has been greater and its benefits more widely distributed within the society. Some of the countries, small and by nature ill-endowed ones among them, have eliminated poverty entirely. True, Western Europe has in general devoted longer to the task than has Mexico, but the recent adverse change in Mexico's distribution of income raises serious doubts about her prospects of following Europe in the foreseeable future. The comparison with socialism springs to mind as well. The Soviet Union, with its revolution coming after that of Mexico, has broken all previous records by its rate of economic growth, the more so if we allow for the 10-year period of World War II and reconstruction. It may be stretching comparisons too far to apply Russia's industrial experiences to Mexico, but the USSR has eliminated illiteracy and gone on to challenge and in many ways surpass the United States in higher and technical education, providing the same opportunities to her indigenous and non-Russian-

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speaking peasant and nomadic peoples. And despite all agricultural difficulties, the USSR displays a similar record in the fields of nutrition, health, and medicine. More recently, China's rate of industrial growth during the past decade, and her agricultural output growth rate in the 1950's was still higher than that of Mexico. And now Cuba has eliminated her 30 percent illiteracy in a single year and nearly doubled her school enrollment in only two years since her revolution. These comparisons are no less inevitable.

Behind the two Janus faces of the Mexican Revolution there is a single head in a single and by now intricately balanced and developing organism. To learn Mexico's lesson for Latin America and the world, we must try to fathom the development, current operation, and future prospects of Mexico's revolutionary organism.

The history of Mexico seems to fall conveniently into the following periods: (1) the four centuries from the Conquest until 1910; (2) the nearly 15 years of violent revolution, counter-revolution, and reconstruction, symbolized by Madera, Huerta, and Carranza; (3) the 15 years of reform, carried through by Presidents Calles and Cárdenas; (4) the 15 years after 1940 of the beginning of industrialization and the growth of bourgeois power, symbolized by President Alemán; and (5) the current consolidation of the "Mexican System" under bourgeois leadership and the Presidency of Lopez Mateos.

At the time of the Conquest, the Spaniards found a 150-year-old Aztec empire in Central Mexico, surviving Mayan culture in the South and Yucatan, and scattered semi-nomadic tribal Indians in the North, including today's Southwestern United States. The populous Center was soon colonized by Spaniards, the existing social system largely destroyed, the Indians' labor and land exploited, and their numbers reduced by half. The more arid, less populated, and tribal North, on the other hand, was settled only gradually and sparsely, as the extension of livestock ranching and mining in that area required. This difference between the North and the populous Center and South, as will emerge later, still dominates Mexico's social and economic experience in the last 20 years of our time.

In 1810, under the leadership of the priest Hidalgo,

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Mexico's peasants rebelled. Unmatched by peasant activity elsewhere in Spanish America, where peasants remained at best passive and often in support of the Spanish Crown, and unsupported by the Latin American-born Creole Spaniards, the rebellion came to nothing. Not until the landowning and particularly commercial Creoles took up the fight themselves did independence come to Mexico and the other Spanish colonies in America. Again in the 1850's, now under the leadership of the Indian Benito Juárez, the Mexicans attempted reform in their feudal structure. But after the French intervention and under the 30-year reign of Porfirio Díaz, peonage returned in full force and concentration of landownership became worse than ever. At the same time, foreign capital, increasingly American, entered the country on most favored terms until it reached over $400 million, concentrated in land, mines, and the transportation system required to ship produce abroad.

The Mexican Revolution was the product of alliance between the bourgeoisie, represented by Madera, and the peasants, led by Emiliano Zapata and Pancho Villa. They faced a common enemy, the feudal order and its supporting pillars of Church, army, and foreign capital. But their goals inevitably differed—freedom from domestic and foreign bonds and loosening of the economic structure for the bourgeoisie; land for the peasants. Although Zapata continued to press the interests of the peasants until his murder in 1919, the real leadership of the Revolution was never out of the hands of the bourgeoisie, except insofar as it was challenged by Huerta reaction and American intervention. (Even in the 1958 presidential election, only 23 percent of the population voted.) The elimination of feudal social relations was of course in the interest of the emerging bourgeoisie as well as of the peasants. Education became secularized, Church and state more widely separated. But accession to power by the peasantry was never really in the cards.

None of the early presidents were radicals in any sense of the word, nor could they have been and retained their positions. In the middle 1920's, during the administration of President Calles, there began the program of public works, and to a lesser extent irrigation, on the foundation of which much of Mexico's subsequent economic development rests. Then too were written

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the laws, pursuant to Article 27 of the relatively advanced Constitution of 1917, which were to guide the land reform until the 1940's. That article provided for expropriation of private lands in the public interest and for distribution of the land to neighboring villages, ranches, and communities whose supply of land is insufficient for their needs, "always respecting small property." Two important legal interpretations of this provision stand out: lands to be distributed to particular communities were to be taken from private properties exceeding certain sizes within a seven-kilometer radius of the communities; and a proportion of private land was to be expropriated corresponding to the increment in the land's value due to any irrigation or other improvements that may be undertaken by the state, thus preventing large landholders from becoming the favored beneficiaries of investments incurred at public expense.

Abroad, the Cárdenas administration (1934-1940) may be best known for its expropriation of Mexico's privately owned petroleum, a step which was also provided for by the same Article 27 of the Constitution of 1917. But still more important domestically, the administration of President Cárdenas expropriated and redistributed more land than all other administrations, before and since, put together. Pursuant to the Constitution and the laws of the Calles administration, these lands were taken from the territories surrounding particular villages and were ceded to them communally as *ejidos*, to be worked in some cases collectively but in most cases individually. An *ejido* bank was established to provide the new owners with agricultural credit. Irrigation and other capital investment in agriculture was not, however, expanded at the same time. In fact, in retrospect it is clear that, although he undoubtedly had his heart in the right place, Cárdenas, as head of a bourgeois government, did not provide Mexican peasant agriculture with nearly enough resources to get it over the hump into self-sustained development.

From a careful study of the Bajio region of Central Mexico a decade after Cárdenas, the following findings, which are not unrepresentative for Mexico as a whole, emerge about the relative resource endowments of *ejido* and small private agriculture. (I shall turn to the discussion of large-scale agriculture when I

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come to the postwar period.) Relative to private farmers, *ejidatarios* have less land (3.8 as against 16.5 hectares per man); more third-quality and less first-quality land; less education (about one tenth of their school-age children in primary school as against one half for the private farmers); more reliance on family and female labor; female labor employed relatively more in cultivation and less in administration; less reliance on outside and permanently hired labor; more unemployment (85 percent of the total); less investment in irrigation (private farmers have 35 percent more irrigated surface and use 65 percent more water); less capital (40 percent of the amount that private owners have, although there are three times as many *ejidatarios*); more dependence on almost exclusively public credit and outside capital supplies, while private farmers have access to a much larger supply of private credit.

With such handicaps, it is perhaps no wonder that many *ejidatarios* have been unable to provide themselves with a decent living. Indeed, in several respects the situation is even worse than that described, and it appears that the political and economic structure that emerged from the Revolution was not really designed to, and does not, permit the large mass of peasants to share in its economic fruits. We should remember that more than a million, now approaching two million, rural family heads remain entirely landless.

Public agricultural credit accounts for no more than a third of all agricultural credit, and about half of that is supplied not by the Ejido Bank but by the Agricultural Bank which lends to large private landholders. Oscar Lewis quotes the research director of the Ejido Bank: "We lend to about one third of all *ejidatarios,* those that have the richest and best lands. We prefer risks that have fertile soil and preferably irrigation. We do not have enough money for loans to subsistence farmers most of whom have the poorest lands." But private credit reaches the *ejidatario* still less; and much of it, like the 2.5 billion pesos annually lent to cotton growers by the American concern of Anderson and Clayton (compared to the 1.5 billion pesos lent by the Ejido Bank to all *ejidatarios* combined), is earmarked for special purposes.

For lack of working capital, many *ejidatarios* have found it

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necessary to lease their newly won land to private holders in command of capital and then to turn around and work for these capitalist farmers as hired laborers on their *own* land. Other *ejidatarios* and landless peasants, as is well known, find it necessary each year to migrate to the United States by the hundreds of thousands to work as migratory agricultural laborers there; or they emigrate to the growing city slums in search of work.

How then, we may well ask, has Mexico been able to show the increases of agricultural and industrial output that were cited previously, if it now appears that the economic condition of the bulk of her population has scarcely improved? Much of the answer emerges from the data collected by Paul L. Yates for his important study of regional economic development in Mexico. After the expiration of Cárdenas's term in the Presidency, and particularly with the accession of Miguel Alemán between 1946 and 1952, the bulk of investment went into the North and the Federal District. As we have already noted, the seven Northern states have traditionally had less of the total population, a lower population density, and a smaller percentage of the labor force engaged in agriculture than the heart of Mexico. While per capita investment remained well under 1,000 pesos for the period 1946-1955 in the 10 least favored states, it rose to well above 5,000 in the 7 Northern states and the Federal District. The difference in funds devoted to irrigation between the North and the rest of the country is even more striking, with 60 percent of all irrigation investment between 1947 and 1958 going to the three states Baja California del Norte, Sonora, and Tamaulipas alone. As a result, much of the increase in Mexico's sown area was concentrated in the relatively less populated North as well. The same area also absorbed the bulk of the increase of agricultural credit and virtually all mechanized farm equipment (an increase in the number of tractors from 4,620 in 1940 to 55,000 in 1955) that was not devoted to the production of sugar, another non-subsistence crop, in the South. Not one tractor was used on any of the million small holdings in 1950. Not surprisingly, agricultural output (though not income) rose in the North to state averages of 12,000, 20,000, and even 34,000 pesos per agricultural

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worker in 1960; while it remained at levels of 2,000 and 3,000 pesos in the older states.*

This growth in agricultural output, however, was concentrated in industrial crops, principally cotton, the production of which rose 309 percent between 1939 and 1954, while that of food crops rose only 113 percent. Moreover, the bulk of these crops—cotton, vegetables, sugar (Center and Yucatan), coffee (Chiapas), and livestock—were destined for export to the North American market. The earnings from this agricultural export were used variously: some were ploughed back into the same export agriculture; some were invested in industry; some were consumed (we will turn later to the resulting distribution of income); and some, unfortunately for Mexico as for other countries exporting primary goods, were left in the importing country because of the decline, particularly after the Korean War, of raw material prices relative to those of industrial goods.

The exigencies of World War II had given impetus to domestic expansion of industry in Mexico as elsewhere in the underdeveloped world. Further industrialization was promoted by Alemán and his successors. Investment in industry and commerce has also been guided into the same eight favored states, with particular concentrations, of course, in the Federal District and Nuevo Leon, the sites of Mexico City and Monterrey. The older, more populated states were left largely unaffected and far behind. A significant portion of the investment funds, and particularly of the necessary foreign exchange, undoubtedly was contributed by the earnings from agricultural exports as well as from the rapid increase of tourism in Mexico and migrant *bracero* labor to the United States. But simultaneously, American direct investment which had fallen to the depression and post-petroleum-nationalization low of $267 million in 1939 began again a rapid increase and now surpasses the $1 billion mark, or about one tenth of U.S. investment in Latin America. This American investment has displayed a relative shift away from "social overhead" capital and into manufacturing and trade, so that in 1953, of the 31 companies with a gross annual income exceeding 100 million pesos, 19 were U.S. owned or

* One U.S. dollar equals 12.5 pesos.

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controlled, 5 were in the hands of the Mexican government, and only 7 were private domestic firms. Moreover, since the ownership certificates of Mexican enterprises are bearer and not name bonds and shares, and since after issuance these certificates typically tend to gravitate into the hands where capital is already concentrated, it is not always easy to determine where ownership, and particularly control lies. Thus, U.S. control of Mexican industry today may well be close to 50 percent. Against this background, it is not surprising to hear the Mexican Chamber of Manufacturing Industries say that "the economic power of these large foreign enterprises constitutes a serious threat to the integrity of the nation and to the liberty of the country to plan its own economic development."

In Mexican agriculture as well, American capital plays a significant role. Although Americans no longer own large tracts of land, as they still do in Central America, the American cotton monopoly, Anderson and Clayton, as already noted, distributes about $200 million of credit for the production of cotton from sowing to shipping. Therewith it effectively determines the buyer and the price for the cotton and prevents Mexico from disposing of a large part of her cotton crop where and when she might wish. And worse, as we shall see below, this arrangement contributes to the maintenance of monoculture and a plantation economy using hired labor in large parts of the North. With good reason, "Mexicans are beginning to wonder whether they are returning to the days of Porfirio Díaz."

The relative effects of events since World War II on the Mexican South and North have already emerged from the foregoing discussion. They are perhaps best summarized by indexes of social welfare presented in the table on page 380.

But much of the detail of the emerging allocation of resources and distribution of income remains hidden behind the regional averages to which the table is necessarily limited. To expose more, it is necessary to inquire into the organization of political and economic power and how it has developed since the days of Cárdenas. When Alemán launched his campaign of large-scale irrigation and industrialization, he also introduced some legal changes. Recall the two provisions of Article 27 of the Constitution that have already been cited in discussing the ad-

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ministrations of Presidents Calles and Cárdenas. These provisions, referring to the distribution of land as *ejidos* contiguous to the communities that were to receive them and allowing expropriation only with due respect to small property, were to receive, under the guidance of Alemán, a significance quite contrary to what they had had before—and quite other, one might suspect, from what the framers of the Constitution had intended.

With respect to the first provision, it must be remembered that the Northern states are sparsely populated and contain vast areas in which there were no settled communities. When lands in such areas were opened to cultivation through irrigation,

INDEXES OF SOCIAL WELFARE
(National Average=100)

	Mortality Reciprocal[a]	Running Water	Literacy	General Welfare
Eight Most Favored States				
Baja Calif. No.	160	127	145	204
Dist. Fed.	124	215	145	188
Sonora	106	97	128	157
Nuevo Leon	136	115	139	144
Baja Calif. Sur	123	92	138	148
Tamaulipas	134	123	132	136
Coahuila	108	132	130	136
Chihuahua	103	104	128	147
Ten Least Favored States				
Chiapas	91	80	61	52
Oaxaca	75	65	64	43
Tabasco	95	45	102	70
Tlaxcala	83	66	97	60
Guerrero	115	75	55	58
Hidalgo	74	84	71	65
Querétaro	83	81	62	70
Guanajuato	82	76	77	65
Zacatecas	107	70	105	56
Michoacan	115	70	105	54

a. This index is so constructed that a *lower* mortality rate yields a *higher* index figure.

Source: Paul L. Yates, El Desarrollo Regional de Mexico, *passim*.

Note: The eight favored states are all at the northern boundary of Mexico, except for the Federal District which is the site of the capital. Least favored states are in the Center and South. Altogether, there are 29 states in addition to two territories and the Federal District. The General Welfare index is a composite constructed by Yates.

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Article 27 was interpreted as excluding, or at least not requiring, their distribution as *ejidal* lands. At the same time, the Constitutional provision for due regard to "small property" now came, under a Law of Inaffectability, to be interpreted as excluding 100 hectares of irrigated, 150 hectares of ordinary, and more of grazing land from expropriation. Accordingly, existing private owners of larger tracts of relatively worthless land in the North, on learning of prospective state irrigation projects in their areas, rushed to "sell" their holdings in plots of the minimum inaffectable acreage to all available members of their families. The result was twofold: not only did they retain effective control of much of their lands—as an example, the son of a revolutionary general and President, himself now governor of a Northern state, is reputed to own 3,000 hectares of irrigated land in three estates—but they also reaped the benefit of the always large and often astronomical increase in its value due to the state-financed irrigation. Thus, they rendered inoperative the letter and intent of the earlier Calles law which was meant to channel the benefits of state-financed irrigation to the public at large. Instead, under the Alemán law, their lands had become inalienable! The legal assessments to the private owners to siphon off the increase in land values were and are more often than not essentially disregarded. In this manner, according to the 1950 Census, while *ejidal* holdings increased 21 percent, and small private holdings increased 20 percent, the larger private landholdings rose by 48 percent; and the share of landholdings larger than 5 hectares in the total of all cropland rose from 39 percent to 43 percent. The real amount of land which is effectively in large holdings is, however, undoubtedly greater and unknown because the census classification cannot adequately distinguish between actually and fictitiously separate landholdings. The matter appears to be further complicated by the holdings of livestock grazing lands, and it is placed entirely beyond inspection if we refer to *values,* and their spectacular increase, rather than to mere acreage.

The foregoing events of the postwar years have had their inevitable effect on the socio-political and economic structure of the society and on the lives of the people within it. They have meant the growth of a neo-latifundia agriculture, no longer

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organized under the feudal *hacienda* system which uses serfs to produce for home consumption, but organized instead as latter-day plantations, run as capitalist enterprises by city-dwelling owners, hiring agricultural wage laborers, and producing non-subsistence and often single crops for export.

The Northern states have thus become magnets of in-migration of *ejidal* or landless peasants who leave their villages in the Center and South. This movement contributes somewhat to redressing the balance of income distribution, for the agricultural workers of the North are economically somewhat better off than their *ejidal* and landless brother in the South. The tabular index of social welfare in terms of regions, however, probably results in a considerable overstatement of the Northern advantage if it is read not as a regional but as a personal difference between the farmer North and South, for the regional figure is probably heavily weighted also by the income differential between bourgeois and peasant. A trip through the North readily suggests that large masses of its inhabitants are not sharing its prosperity.

The new private landowners, large and small, and some of the old ones as well, are or are becoming bourgeois in every sense of the word. Even the smaller landowners among them, if they have any capital, have a position and income which affords them a middle-class style of life, and often urban life at that. Their agricultural business often affords them a handsome income, which they dispose of sometimes by real investment in Mexico, sometimes by investment abroad, sometimes by constructing and speculating in urban real estate, or luxury imports. And they have power, economic and political. They and their industrial, commercial, and sometimes professional brethren essentially own and run the state. Beginning particularly during the administration of Alemán, they have, as we have seen in part, been able to use that state to pull themselves up by their bootstraps. But it has not, so far, been their interest to pull the peasantry up behind them. Is it any wonder that, according to Mrs. Navarete's recent study of income distribution, the share of the total national income going to the richest 20 percent of families rose from 59.8 percent in 1950 to 61.4 percent in

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1957, while that of the poorest 50 percent dropped from 18.1 percent to 15.6 percent?

It remains to ask how the "Mexican System" works today under the administration of President Lopez Mateos and what are its prospects for the future. Mexico is a social and economic pyramid, with a political pyramid inside. At the bottom are the indigenous Indians, remaining where they always were. In the next layer are the landless rural people and the unemployed or only occasionally employed urban ones. The latter, particularly, are a veritable *lumpenproletariat,* dispossesed by the rural and unabsorbed by the urban economy, living on the margin of society, isolated and alienated from it, from each other, and often from themselves. Next come the *ejidatarios* and such private small holders as are poor enough to work their land by themselves. Although economically more secure, they stand socially sometimes even below the marginal urban people, perhaps because the *chances* for social mobility are greater for the latter. Above them are the workers in the narrower sense of the word, particularly the unionized ones, who in Mexico as in many parts of Latin America, Asia, and Africa today comprise a sort of "aristocracy of the proletariat." The next layer may be termed the middle class or petty bourgeoisie. It comprises a large variety of economic walks of life—small landowner, professional, merchant, clergy, government and white collar worker, small politician—but it affords considerable lateral mobility within it, from one occupation to another. Their badge in Mexico is dark glasses as it is a briefcase in Western Europe, however dark it may be outside or however few papers there may be to carry. And that badge is a counterweight to the sometimes higher income of the workers below them. The bourgeois upper class, the principal manipulators and beneficiaries of the system, includes the large landholders, the effective directors of the financial commercial, industrial, professional, governmental, and military apparatuses, and by *noblesse oblige* some intellectuals. The viable economic base of the more aristocratic upper class was destroyed by the Revolution. But many of its members and their wealth survived. Their money was invested in finance, commerce, industry, and later again agriculture; and the ex-aristocrats became the nucleus of

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the new bourgeoisie. Their ranks were soon supplemented by their erstwhile enemies, the individual beneficiaries of the same Revolution, many politicians and generals among them. As their economic position became consolidated, so did their political power—exercised through the PRI, the all-powerful Institutional Revolutionary Party through which they have managed Mexico's political, and thereby indirectly economic, life for the past generation. It is the PRI which allocates the presidency and other principal political offices (to its faithful), and not the electoral mechanism; and management and control of the PRI, in turn, by no means extends down to the bottom of the social and economic pyramid.

But Mexico's pyramid is not static; it is not a caste system, as for example that of Peru substantially remains; there is mobility. There are economic, political, and social paths which afford opportunities—or, maybe better, chances—for higher rank to those who play according to the rules of the game. There is the migration from Center and South to the North, involving as it does not only geographical movement but also economic improvement coupled with some severance of communal ties and participation in a looser society. There is the very substantial rural-urban migration, especially to Mexico City which grew from 1.4 million and 7 percent of the population in 1940 to over 4 million and 13 percent today. Of course, such migration offers no guarantee of social or economic success, but it increases the statistical chances for the migrant. There is movement into white or off-white collar jobs and various kinds of speculation around the loose ends of a growing economy. And, of course, there is education and "suitable" marriage for those who can manage it. These two are perhaps the most important vehicles for the social and economic migrant himself, and virtually guarantee mobility to his children.

Social mobility, however, is individual-by-individual. Individuals, some of them, are permitted, indeed encouraged, to "better themselves," but within the system and according to its rules. In fact, the "System" and the Party co-opt people into their ranks to obviate their rocking the boat. Perhaps most symbolic of this process is the recent invitation by President Lopez Mateos to the seven living ex-Presidents, and their ac-

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ceptance, to join his administration in semi-official, semi-honorary positions, a step that was taken to help stabilize the political situation in Mexico "after Cuba." In more pedestrian ways, labor leaders, popularly called *charros,* are co-opted into the business system and rewarded, to keep unions from rocking the boat. Even young Marxists can hope to attain positions of responsibility in later years and may therefore turn to defend the system. Indeed, the Mexican Communist Party is sometimes called Mexico's leading school for conservatives. Most important, the social structure and its mythology have given the lower-middle class, and even people in the lower class, the feeling that it is possible to rise up, partly in and partly with, the system.

While mobility individual-by-individual is permitted, mobility by group is not. If group pressure begins to build up anywhere in the politico-economic system, the first step, as suggested above, is to co-opt or recruit away the leadership. Additionally, small concessions may be used to abate the pressure and take the wind out of the movement's sails. Thus, for instance, the price of corn (*maiz*) and movies (!) is subsidized in the City of Mexico, some will say to help the poor and others to ward off popular unrest. Similarly, after substantial popular pressure had built up, President Lopez Mateos recently created some livestock *ejidos* in the North; however, he has yet to grant a single acre of irrigated land to an *ejido*. If these measures are not successful, the government finally resorts to repression. Strikes, particularly those with political overtones, such as those of the most militant among unions, the railroad workers' three years ago, and the teachers' last year, have been severely dealt with. Particularly since the increase of liveliness in political life and the full-scale introduction of the Cold War after the Cuban Revolution, left-wing labor leaders and others have increasingly found themselves sitting in jail. To prove that no one, no matter what his status, is immune from this fate, Mexico's most famous living painter, the 65-year-old internationally known David Alfaro Siqueiros and his 73-year-old friend, the noted journalist Filomena Mata, are in jail on 8-year (!) sentences for allegedly having caused the teachers' union, of which they are not even members, to go on strike. The official charge is threatening "social dissolution," whatever that may mean. On the other

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hand, rightist influence, even on the part of the Church whose wings had been clipped 100 and again 50 years ago, has been steadily growing and consolidating itself.

Thus the System offers glory to some individuals, bread and circuses, often more circuses than bread, to the masses—supposedly ample rewards for repudiating militant leadership. Occasional economic, but no political concessions, are offered when necessary, and repression is resorted to if all else fails. On the whole, the System seems to work quite well: it is significant that Mexico devotes only 8 percent of her national budget to the army, compared to Colombia's 30 percent or Haiti's 45 percent; only relatively middle-class Costa Rica among the Latin American countries spends less. But it is also true that the System withholds real participation and benefits from the bulk of the Mexican people.

What are the prospects for the future? Industrialization, rapid as it has been, education, capitalization of agriculture, public works, and other "modernization" measures have not so far been sufficient really to absorb the population increase, let alone greatly to raise the economic level of the peasant base. Moreover, the present government has reduced Alemán's annual irrigation expenditures by nearly half; and the spectacular 8-10 percent rate of GNP increase of the mid-1950's has steadily declined to an alarming zero percent last year. With the existing economic organization and structure of bourgeois political and economic power, and the relative increase of private over public investment in recent years, there is enough reason to doubt that the Mexican economy will soon afford the bulk of its people a significantly better standard of life. It certainly does not promise the economic and cultural advances shown in this century, and particularly since World War II by the socialist countries. Yet, as we have seen, the System does lumber along, as those of Guatemala, Peru, yes, of Venezuela and Colombia, to say nothing of several other Latin American countries, no longer do. And it makes adjustments here and there. As the economy proceeds by co-optation, so does the political system and its political party, only more so. Nothing seems to be possible working from outside the PRI; and everything that is possible can be attained only by joining and working through

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the PRI. The office of the President is all-powerful no matter who fills it: it is more than a literary or journalistic quirk that Mexicans have transformed the names of their Presidents into nouns and adjectives for use in referring to their administrations, nay epochs. And an ex-President counts for no more than anyone else without political access to the current incumbent.

Thus, although Cárdenas, apparently spurred on by the Cuban Revolution, recently emerged from 20-year political retirement to join younger men in founding the MLN (National Liberation Movement) which is designed to mobilize and unify Mexico's political Left, he nevertheless accepted the invitation to ex-Presidents to join the Lopez Mateos administration along with his more conservative colleagues. It is no wonder the Left is disunited, nay fractionated; and the birth of the MLN is maybe more a sign of the need for unity on the Left than of its achievement. At the same time, the current wave of governmental repression against the Left need not mean a permanent move to the Right. As Latin America as a whole moves further to the Left in the coming years, the pressure on Mexico may become so great the Mexican Left will again have its day (helped along by U.S. repressive acts designed to prevent it)—but working within and through the PRI. Pablo Gonzales Casanova, Dean of the always progressive School of Political and Social Sciences at the National University and prominent member of the MLN suggests: "We think that General Lázaro Cárdenas has indicated the right road: support the institution and organize the people."

It is easy to concur with this judgment. But organize the people for what? Only to wrest the control of their destinies away from the bourgeoisie and the PRI? While the Mexican people "organize," other Latin Americans will inevitably make revolutions far more radical than that of Mexico. As the Cuban Revolution has already done, these revolutions abroad will just as inevitably sharpen the antagonisms between the Left and Right in Mexico itself. Any short-run, moderate gains the Mexican Left can achieve within the present system by riding on the wave of social revolution among her neighbors, can only postpone the day when the Mexican Left must radically break

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the power of the bourgeoisie, and begin itself to direct Mexico's destiny.

A Note On Sources

The foregoing article is based in part on personal observation and inquiry and in part on published materials. In addition to Mexican newspapers and such U.S. press organs as the *New York Times* and *Time,* the following were the chief sources relied upon:

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WORLD EVENTS

By Scott Nearing

Lament for Poisoned Song Birds

Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* (Houghton Mifflin, $5) has hit the front page, the book review columns, the favorite radio hour, the television spotlight, the Book of the Month Club, the agricultural colleges and their poison-obsessed extension divisions, the chemical industry, and the Washington government with a terrific wallop. Not since Upton Sinclair's *Jungle* appeared, half a century ago, has a single book about the American scene made such an impression. Reviewers have even gone so far as to call *Silent Spring* "the *Uncle Tom's Cabin* of the 20th century."

Actually, *Silent Spring* is anything but an *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. That book was an absorbing, romantic, thrilling story of personal indignity, hardship, privation, and suffering, written as a passionate denunciation of chattel slavery south of the Mason and Dixon line. *Silent Spring* is an impressive collection of case histories designed to prove that widespread use of poisonous sprays and dusts in various parts of the United States is decimating wild life and having a particularly disastrous effect on song birds, which eat the bugs and worms poisoned by the sprays and dusts.

Uncle Tom's Cabin was easy, exciting reading in the 19th century. *Silent Spring*, like any other compilation of information designed to establish a particular conclusion beyond reasonable doubt, is repetitive and in places almost tiresome. By no stretch of the imagination could it be called good reading. Yet it was in its second or third printing before its date of publication, and its influence will be felt for years to come.

Like *The Jungle, Uncle Tom's Cabin,* Tolstoi's *War and Peace,* Barbusse's *Under Fire* and other epoch-marking books, *Silent Spring* trespasses on the preserves of an important vested interest—in this case, the chemical industry. In the same way, *War and Peace* and *Under Fire* trespassed on the business of

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war, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* on chattel slavery, and *The Jungle* on the streamlined mass production of the meat packing industry.

After noting the widespread and increasing use of super-poisonous insecticides, pesticides, and herbicides and their apparent effects on wild life and laboratory specimens, the author of *Silent Spring* describes causes and consequences with a wealth of technical detail. As a specialist in biology, she begins her argument with an examination of the life process, which is intimately dependent on oxidation. "Without the smooth and effective functioning of energy-yielding oxidation none of the body's functions can be performed." This work of oxidation is accomplished "not in any specialized organ, but in every cell of the body." "A living cell, like a flame, burns fuel to produce the energy on which life depends." Cellular oxidation produces adenosine triphosphate (ATP) which is "the universal currency of energy—found in all organisms from microbes to men. It furnishes mechanical energy to muscle cells, electrical energy to nerve cells." "Oxidation progresses in a cycle like a turning wheel. If we thrust a crowbar between the spokes of a wheel it makes no difference where we do it, the wheel stops turning. . . . The crowbar to wreck the wheels of oxidation can be supplied by any of a number of chemicals commonly used as pesticides."

Chemicals introduced into cells may disturb their function in any part of the organism. They may be concentrated in the germ cells where they disrupt the reproductive process. "It is no longer necessary to guess about the storage of insecticides in the eggs of birds. . . . Large residues of DDT and other hydrocarbons have been found wherever looked for in the eggs of birds subjected to these chemicals, either experimentally or in the wild. . . . Knowing that DDT and other (perhaps all) chlorinated hydrocarbons stop the energy-producing mechanisms, it is hard to see how any egg so loaded with residues could complete the complex cycle of development."

These aspects of poisoning are not confined to birds. "ATP is the universal currency of energy, and the metabolic cycles that produce it turn to the same purpose in birds and bacteria, in men and mice." The absence of birdsong in the spring thus becomes a symbol of the general decrease in life manifestation.

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Silent Spring's connotations, however, reach far beyond insect and bird life; far beyond the health, reproductive capacity, and life of individual human beings, and certainly far beyond the pocket nerve of the chemical industry. Those who follow the argument of *Silent Spring* to its logical conclusion find themselves face to face with the consequences of chemicalized living. Beyond the chemical super-poisons which are being used in man's war against viruses, germs, insects, rodents, and many kinds of plant life are the millions of tons of chemical fertilizers that are mixed with the topsoil each year and the additional chemicals (now more than a thousand in number) which are used to preserve, condition, flavor, color and otherwise make presentable and palatable the processed supermarket foods upon which the majority of United States citizens are presently dependent for part or all of their food intake.

Beyond these consequences, and completely overshadowing them in the minds of those familiar with the facts, are world-wide military preparations, now very far advanced, which chemists, biologists, and physicists have thought out and directed, to saturate earth, air, and water with super-poisons, disease germs, and thermonuclear refuse that may exterminate all life on the earth's surface.

Viewed in its broadest aspects, and considered in the light of its probable consequences, the theme of *Silent Spring* has a quality of universality that was merely hinted at in parallel books on war, slavery, and insanitary conditions of meat processing. It is a book that should bring a reasoning modern man face to face with the overwhelming disaster toward which he is moving with the speed of a super-jet.

Shall We Construct Or Destroy?

"Every tool is a potential weapon" runs a widely-accepted military axiom. New formulas, discoveries, and inventions embodied in tools and machines increase capacity to produce; embodied in weapons they increase capacity to destroy.

Recent years have witnessed a rapidly growing stream of discoveries and inventions in almost every field of human endeavor from geology and metallurgy to mathematics and astronomy. Most of these advances and achievements have had their earliest

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expressions in civilian endeavors and enterprises. Subsequently they have been taken over by the military. Vannevar Bush, in his *Modern Arms and Free Men,* writes that until about 1938 science and technology were primarily civilian in their outlook and application to human affairs. At that crucial turning point, however, science and technology began concentrating on war.

Throughout the past century science and technology have pushed their way into the front rank among forces shaping and directing human life. During the first three-quarters of the century they raised human productivity to unimagined levels of effectiveness. During the last quarter of the century they have made an even more dramatic contribution to human destructivity. For a time, productivity was well in the lead. Then the two ran neck and neck. Since 1945 destructivity has led the field. Today a city that took centuries to build and populate can be destroyed by one super-bomb in a matter of seconds.

Destruction is not a new aspect of human activity. Each center of civilization has had its era of construction and its era of extravagant waste, followed by its era of destruction. In one sense, construction and destruction were balanced. Each civilization sprang from the earth, built its tower of babel or its Egyptian pyramids, and melted back into the earth as vegetation springs from the grasslands or the forest floor, enjoys its day in the sunshine, and is reincorporated into the earth from which it came.

Invention and discovery, expressed in science and technology, have added a new dimension to this rise and decline of human culture. With science and technology the rise has become faster and steeper, the apparatus of culture more elaborate and the decline more precipitate.

Modern man, using the immense potential of the Power Age, has won his war against animals, enslaved (domesticated) them, and used them for food, power, or for sport. He is winning his war against vegetation by ploughing up the grasslands, butchering the forests, paving the earth, and spraying poisons on trespassing plant life (weeds). Man is engaged in a savage chemical war against those insects and other forms of life which threaten his health or interfere with his projects and enterprises. He is carrying on a cold-hot war against those

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who differ with his ideals and theories or who question his practices. In a word, present-generation western civilization is repeating the cycle followed by previous civilizations: beginning with emphasis on production and construction, continuing through the 19th century era of accumulating surpluses and extravagant waste, and early in the present century passing into the third phase of the cycle, the phase of suicidal destructivity.

Coexistence Or Extermination

Behind this fast-moving drama of western civilization's rise and decline are the potent forces of human energy and ingenuity, powered by steam and electricity and in the past twenty years by the immense energy sources of the atom. Equipped with these cosmic forces and driven forward by the hurricane of change which they have let loose on the world, mankind can either advance to new heights of production and construction, with corresponding improvements in opportunity and well-being, or can fall back once again into the snake pit of rivalry and conflict under the self-destroying slogan "victory for our side."

Without doubt modern man has built a pyramid of potential destructivity. It is equally certain that the release of the destructives will bring not victory, but death.

Life on the earth is not set up in terms of superiority in violence. Rather it follows lines of specialization, interdependence, and coexistence. The lion may be the king of beasts, but he does not exterminate all other forms of jungle life. If he did, he would starve. There is a balance of nature under which lions and antelopes coexist, with occasional lapses into carnivorism. In this balance animal life, bird life, insect, bacterial life play their parts.

Mankind has built an elaborate, interdependent culture which has provided the substance of a long succession of civilizations. Man is a destroyer as well as a builder. He has exterminated entire species, like the American Bison. He has destroyed forests and opened the soil to erosion. He has engaged in fratricidal wars that have wiped out one civilization after another and presently threaten to end western civilization. The alternative? Learning to live and let live; or, better still, to live and help live.

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Apple Trees Produce Apples

Here in New England apples grow so easily that they seed themselves. Volunteer apple seedlings may be found along the roadsides, in the hedgerows and thickets.

New England farmers who plant apple trees expect, in the course of a few years, to pick a crop of apples. Even if they tell themselves and their neighbors, three times a day, that the newly planted apple seedlings will bear cherries, the crop when it comes will be apples.

John F. Kennedy ran for office as spokesman for The American Way of Life: in domestic affairs economic competition, in political affairs competitive nationalism. Since he has been in office he has said, three times a day, that he stands for peace. But during the two years since January 1, 1961 he has made war: shooting war in Cuba in 1961; shooting war in Laos and Viet Nam in 1962; two years of cold war with the Soviet Union, and two years of smouldering war with People's China.

Competition produces war as naturally as apple trees produce apples. Indeed, military men describe war as the highest form of competition. Accepting and following competitive principles, President Kennedy and his followers will get war just as surely as the New England farmer who plants apple seedlings will get apples.

On Second Thought

Daniel Webster, in an impassioned patriotic peroration just before the outbreak of the United States Civil War, intoned: "Liberty and union, now and forever, one and inseparable!"

Hindsight, backed by a century of experience, including state's rights arguments, the march through Georgia from Atlanta to the sea, Federal Court decisions on desegregation during the past five years, and the stubborn heel-dragging in Mississippi leading up to the head-on collision of President Kennedy and Governor Barnett in September-October 1962, must lead any rational human to this revision of the Daniel Webster formula: "Liberty and union, unstable and temporary, contradictory and coexistent."

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BOOKS

A TRUE INTERNATIONALIST

BY JEFFRY KAPLOW

Socialists—particularly Marxists—have often been prone to cast doubt on the validity of biography as a form of historical study. Although this attitude is too often justified by the "my man changed the course of history and wasn't he great" school of hagiography that has long dominated biographical studies in the United States, its real basis is quite different.

The euphoria so often induced by the discovery of Marxism leads not only to a lack of subtlety in the application of Marxist categories, but also to a tendency to minimize the role of great men in history. As a reaction to prevailing concepts of historical change, this point of view is more than correct. Marxism, however, is not content to react against what has gone before, and neither a misreading of Plekhanov nor a legitimate fear of the "cult of personality" can justify throwing the baby out with the bath. If great men cannot change the course of history, they can at least influence the pace of historical development. And it is when they work to advance the rate of change, rather than to retard it, that they truly merit the appellation "great." As C. Wright Mills demonstrated in his *Sociological Imagination,* one of the greatest tasks of contemporary social scientists is precisely to integrate history and biography, the society and the individual, in order to attain a greater understanding of historical development in all its complexity.

For this task, that should—and, hopefully, will—attract more historians than it now does, no figure in contemporary history can be more appealing than Jean Jaurès. Humanist and socialist, philosopher and historian, intellectual and man

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Mr. Kaplow, who teaches at New York University, specializes in the history of the French Revolution and modern European social movements.

Harvey Goldberg, *The Life of Jean Jaurès* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1962), 590 pages, $12.00.

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of action, Jaurès typifies all that is best in the tradition of France and the French Revolution.

Born in the small town of Castres, not far from Toulouse, in 1859, Jaurès came to socialism by way of his allegiance to the Republican ideal. As a student at the Ecole Normale Supérieure, the greatest of French educational institutions and one that has, ever since its founding by Napoleon, provided the country with a major share of its political and intellectual elite, Jaurès learned Republicanism from its master propagandists.

In France in the 1870's, "Republican" was still a fighting word, for it was far from sure that the Republic would survive the onslaughts of the Catholic and legitimist Right, of the Orleanist pretender, and the Bonapartists. Only after the defeat of an attempted *coup d'état* in 1877 did the survival of the Republic become certain. And consequently, the cracks in the Republican edifice began to show, the differences that separated one Republican party from another on social issues to become clear. The Gambettists emerged as the defenders of the bourgeois republican state, and the socialists and a few bourgeois radicals as their chief rivals within the Republican camp.

A young professor of philosophy when first elected to the Chamber of Deputies in 1886, Jaurès was already acquainted with the work of Marx and Engels, particularly that part of it which dealt with the philosophical problems raised by the Hegelians and other German idealist thinkers. In fact, he was then in the process of preparing the doctoral dissertation in which he would express his views on the fundamental questions of the nature of reality and the determinants of historical action. In both cases, Jaurès was to oppose the scriptural fundamentalism of Lafargue and Guesde. For him, reality was a complex result of objectively existing entities and the human mind interacting with them. Consequently, there was a wide area of history that could be made by human beings acting collectively. And the bourgeois democratic state had to be defended, for it was the best milieu in which socialists might work to attain their goals. If, as Harvey Goldberg points out in his biography of Jaurès, this admixture of idealism in Jaurès' philosophy prevents him from being called a Marxist, Marx himself does not merit the title. For the range, variety, and subtlety of Jaurès's thought brought him closer to the essence and spirit of Marxism than most of his contemporaries.

Whatever philosophical differences may have separated Jaurès from the more orthodox Marxists of his era, they did not keep him from working with them, both inside and outside the Chamber, in the pursuit of the common objective that was socialism. In the 80's and 90's,

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Jaurès was to learn a great deal about the class struggle at first hand. Although he represented a district that was for the most part agricultural and made up of large numbers of small peasant holders, there were certain areas in it that were well on the way to industrial maturity. When, on several occasions, first the miners and then the glass workers of the region went out on strike, Jaurès was there, urging them on, defending the right of labor to organize, denouncing the oppressive alliance of the state and big capital. Recognizing in him the friend they needed, the organized workers almost always stood behind him at election time, although to do so often meant to risk dismissal and economic reprisals.

Jaurès, in every sense of the word a true revolutionary, did not disdain parliamentary action. Quite the contrary, he pushed for reform at every opportunity. Hence his fervent activity in the Dreyfus Case, once he grasped its significance, and in the fight for the separation of Church and state in 1905. He reasoned that the Army and the Church represented the most reactionary forces in French society and consequently had to be destroyed as centers of power. If to do so made necessary temporary alliances with left-wing bourgeois parties, Jaurès was willing to indulge himself. He was often misunderstood, accused of being a reformist, a revisionist and, worse, a class collaborationist. The charges were ill-founded. Jaurès, unlike Millerand and Briand, never fell into the trap of opportunism. Even at those times when socialists gave their support to one or another bourgeois ministry, he never failed to reiterate the specific program of the party as differentiated from that of his temporary allies—and to serve it in every way possible. Unwilling, *a priori*, to condemn socialist participation in bourgeois ministries, he wished to subject such participation to the strict control of the party. Unity was Jaurès' constant aim, unity among socialists on a permanent basis, unity among partisans of reform temporarily and around specific issues.

The greatest problem in European society in the first years of the century was the maintenance of peace. Jaurès recognized this and devoted all his energy to the struggle. His recognition of conflicting imperialisms as the basic cause of world tension marked a great development in his thought; for he, too, like so many French intellectuals of the period who sought their roots in the revolutionary tradition, had been much influenced by the ideal of the *Grande Nation* extending itself to bring enlightenment to the underdeveloped peoples of the earth. From there, it was but a short step to the advocacy of paternalistic imperialism. But in Jaurès this Jacobin nationalism gave way before the true

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internationalism that socialism demanded. His defense of the ideal made him much hated—despised as a traitor and an agent, as some said, of the Kaiser. In the end, it was to cost him his life. On July 31, 1914, the day before the war began, he was murdered by a demented monarchist, while dining in a café near the offices of *Humanité*.

Mr. Goldberg's biography, written with sympathy and understanding, more than does justice to Jaurès' greatness. As the author recognizes, it is not likely to be the definitive work in the field, for the job of collecting Jaurès' manuscripts, particularly his correspondence, has only just begun. It is nevertheless an admirable biography and an excellent work of history. And it leaves this reviewer with the feeling that while this may be a time in American history for more John Browns, to find another Jaurès would be, in the words of the poet, "very heaven."

We often learn of men whose lives have been changed because a particular book has fallen into their hands, or, one might say, because they have fallen into the hands of a particular book.

—*Lord Acton*

The lies written in ink can never cover up the facts written in blood.
Lu Hsun, Roses Without Bloom, 1926

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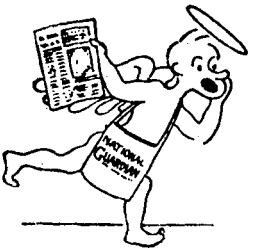

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Monthly Review published monthly except July and August, when bi-monthly at New York, N. Y. for October 1, 1962.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

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5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was: 8040.

Leo Huberman, co-editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 27th day of September, 1962. Jack Medzelo, Notary Public, State of New York. No. 03-2647135. Qualified in Bronx County. Term Expires March 30, 1963.

The United States has military bases in many areas immediately bordering the Soviet Union. Our position has been that these are necessary for our security. But do not such attempts to achieve total security inevitably mean the "total insecurity" of other countries? Does the United States really have a greater security stake in areas immediately bordering the Soviet Union than does the Soviet Union itself?

—Fred Warner Neal, U.S. Foreign Policy and the Soviet Union

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(*continued from inside front cover*)

For gift books, let us specially recommend for their importance and timeliness our two forthcoming works on Cuba (and the U.S.): William A. Williams, *The United States, Cuba, and Castro;* and J. P. Morray, *The October Revolution in Cuba.* Prof. Williams is one of the leading authorities on U.S. foreign relations, and his book puts the present crisis in U.S.-Cuban relations in its true perspective. Prof. Morray spent nearly two years in Cuba and was an eye-witness of, and as a teacher at the University of Havana a participant in, Cuba's second, socialist revolution. These books are "musts" for MR readers and ought to be given the largest possible circulation.

Another wonderful gift of an entirely different kind is *Report to the Stockholders and Other Poems* by John Beecher, MR Press's first venture into the field of poetry publishing. This volume is produced by offset from the beautiful hand-set typography of the author's own Rampart Press. It is thus a work of art in two senses.

Here is what Jim Higgins, Assistant Editor of the *York Gazette* writes about *The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists* by Robert Tressell, another good MR Press gift book: "This is, in my opinion, one of the greatest modern novels. Mostly because it has nothing to do with the convention of the novel. It breaks clean out of it and therefore hardly seems to be *written* at all. Just life. And every word true to life. I have read it three or four times and read in it every day or so. A staggering book. You see the novel is a closed form and with only a few exceptions stays indoors, so to speak, in a room of its own. But RTP walks in the real open world. It thrilled me and moved me often to tears—remember those 'toys' of Frankie's? Heartbreaking. The whole business is enough to fill one with rage that such things endure, right under our noses, for the book is of today. The function of the novel as it appears is to protect us from knowledge of life. But RTP exposes us to life. So it will continue to go unhonored for a while, being too much for us."

Finally, don't forget *Burning Conscience* by Claude Eatherly and Gunther Anders, that most poignant human document of the atomic age. "Just read Eatherly's testament in bed where I landed a week ago Friday from a cerebral thrombosis," writes a subscriber from New Jersey. "If you hadn't published another damn thing, you have justified your existence."

Our good friend Barrows Dunham writes: "You have won another battle in your war against Peterson's translation of Guevara's *Guerrilla Warfare* [published in the U.S. by Praeger]. The London *Times Literary Supplement* for September 21, 1962, p. 732, says: "Fortunately, a much more accurate translation by Professor J. P. Morray, was published last year by Monthly Review Press, New York." The London *Times* reviewer pretty well demolished the Peterson, by confronting the original Spanish text with the 'free' translation. You can be proud, and we all rejoice to see virtue for once rewarded. Apparently 'free' translations are free in the same manner that the "Free World" is free—and for precisely the same reason."

Incidentally, MR readers will be glad to know that a paperback edition of Barrows Dunham's masterpiece, *Man Against Myth,* has just been published by Hill and Wang. If you didn't get it and read it when it first came out, you should certainly repair the omission now.

Alice Richards informs us that a new 25-minute "Women for Peace" film, narrated by Dr. Frances Herring, is now available and can be purchased at the cost price of $40. Write direct to Mrs. Richards, 14 Flood Circle, Atherton, California.

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